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AN ANALYSIS OF THE NATIONAL ADULT EDUCATION PROGRAM IN INDIA, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE PROVINCE OF ORISSA, 1978-85

©

by

ABINASH CHANDRA MISHRA

A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
AND RESEARCH IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN
INTERNATIONAL/INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATIONS

EDMONTON, ALBERTA
CANADA
SPRING 1992

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ISBN 0-315-73232-6

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TITLE OF THESIS: AN ANALYSIS OF THE NATIONAL ADULT EDUCATION PROGRAM IN INDIA, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE PROVINCE OF ORISSA, 1978-85

DEGREE: DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

YEAR THIS DEGREE GRANTED: SPRING 1992

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DATE: 17th MARCH, 1992

DEDICATION

Dedicated to all my family for their ungrudging help, support and encouragement to complete this piece of work.

ABSTRACT

The National Adult Education Program was launched in India on 2nd October 1978, and was implemented during its Sixth Five-year Plan. The aim of the program was to cover 100 million illiterates in the 15-35 age group by 1984 and to contribute to their socio-economic development, thus expediting individual progress and national development.

The study is a historical analysis of the development and functioning of the NAEP during the period 1978-85. It provides a detailed outline of the NAEP in terms of its aims and objectives, developments, strategies for implementation, actual functioning and achievements during the stated period. The study analyzes the performance of the NAEP and compares it with the original goal targets set by the government at the beginning of the Program in order to determine its degree of success. It also includes a brief account of the functioning of Adult Education Programs in the province of Orissa. Finally, it examines the deficiencies of the Program and suggests measures to improve future adult education programs in India.

The study found out that the success of the NAEP in terms of its original goal targets was marginal. None of the broader objectives of the Program - that it would wipe out illiteracy, that it would provide income generating marketable skills, that it would help eradicate social malaise - seemed to be achieved. The goal of pursuing individual enrichment and national development through the NAEP was found to be greatly exaggerated. The NAEP although promised to be a Program for promoting vocational skills as well as citizenship education, remained basically as a literacy drive. But even here, the NAEP was not a great success.

The message that emerged is that the poor and the illiterate would like to be literate only if they are rewarded with tangible benefits such as better employment opportunities and improved social status. Adult Education Programs in order to be effective, need to take the form of a mass movement backed by the political will of the government. Among other things it would also require proper facilities at the AECs, adequate financing, motivated and trained functionaries, and significant improvements in its content and curricula.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It is a pleasure to acknowledge the tremendous help and support I have received in all the years of my study and research in completing this work. These years have been long and difficult and often seemed to be an endless winter of my discontent. However, I am extremely fortunate to have obtained the help and support of some very special and wonderful people who not only guided me to complete this piece of scholarly work but also provided the spirit and enthusiasm to endure during difficult times. It would be a privilege to extend my gratitude to them.

I would like to express my sincere thanks and deep appreciation to Prof. D.R. Pugh and Dr. Glen Eyford, my thesis co-supervisors for their unfailing generosity of time, patience and expertise in successfully completing this thesis. Their ungrudging guidance, constructive criticism and meticulous revisions of the thesis are beyond comparison and without which this formidable task would not have been completed. I am immensely indebted to Dr. M.K. Bacchus, member of my Supervisory Committee, who has been my intellectual mentor and whose contributions to complete this work is insurmountable, both at a personal and professional level. Dr. Bacchus has been a constant source of help and encouragement during the entire period of study and research at the University of Alberta. Thanks are also due to Dr. J.M. Small, Department of Educational Administration, University of Alberta for his conscientious reading of the thesis and for his stimulating questions and comments during the final defence. I am also thankful to my external thesis examiner, Dr. Budd Hall of the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE), Toronto, for his careful reading of and thoughtful suggestions on the manuscript, which helped in producing this final product.

My graduate studies at the University of Alberta were funded by the teaching and research assistantships from the Department of Educational Foundations and by a Dissertation Fellowship from the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, without which this study would not have been possible. I most graciously acknowledge this financial assistance. I am also thankful to the International Students Centre at the Campus for its generous financial support during my difficult times as a foreign student.

Thanks are also due to all those wonderful people who provided assistance and cooperation during my field study in India. A list of all those names would be an incredibly difficult task, however, the unhesitating cooperation of the following are gratefully acknowledged: Mr. Anil Bordia, Secretary of Education, Government of India; Mr. Laxmidhar Mishra, Director General, National Literacy Mission of India; Ms. Maithili Chandra, Joint Advisor, Planning Commission; Mr. J.C. Saxena, Deputy Advisor (Education), Planning Commission and, General Secretary, Indian Adult Education Association; Mr. J.L. Sachadeva, Director, Indian Adult Education Association; Dr. C.L. Sapra, Director, Nonformal Education, National Institute for Educational Planning and Administration, and Dr. S.M. Pany, Assistant Director, Department of Adult Continuing Education and Extension Works, Utkal University, Orissa who granted interviews and provided me with feedback. Mr. Jahangir Khan, Supervisor for the Sukinda Garh Rural Functional Literacy Project and Mr. K.K. Mohanty, Instructor for the Rangitangara Adult Education Centre, not only permitted me to observe the functioning of the Adult Education Classes and granted interviews with them but also took the time to take me to the different Adult Education Centres in the area. Their help and cooperation is highly appreciated and is hereby acknowledged.

Most importantly, a special note of thanks is extended to my family: my wife Bindu who provided constant support and encouragement and put up with me in my difficult times, my son Sachi (11) and daughter Eloura (5) who had to put up with hardship and with my odd schedule but never complained. Their support, patience and understanding provided me with the strength and encouragement to complete this work. Last but not least, the encouragement and blessing of my parents - Mr. Gopabandhu Mishra and Mrs. Snehalata Mishra, and the inspiration of my brothers Charu C. Mishra, Ph.D., and Prabin C. Mishra, Ph.D., and my sister-in-law Mrs. Priyambada Mishra, who provided me with tremendous moral support in finishing this work, is highly appreciated. I am thankful to all.

A note of thanks is also due to Ms. Ann-Doritt Toftgaard who undertook the difficult task of typing the manuscript under very tight time restraints. Her cooperation, understanding and patience in completing this work on time is appreciated.

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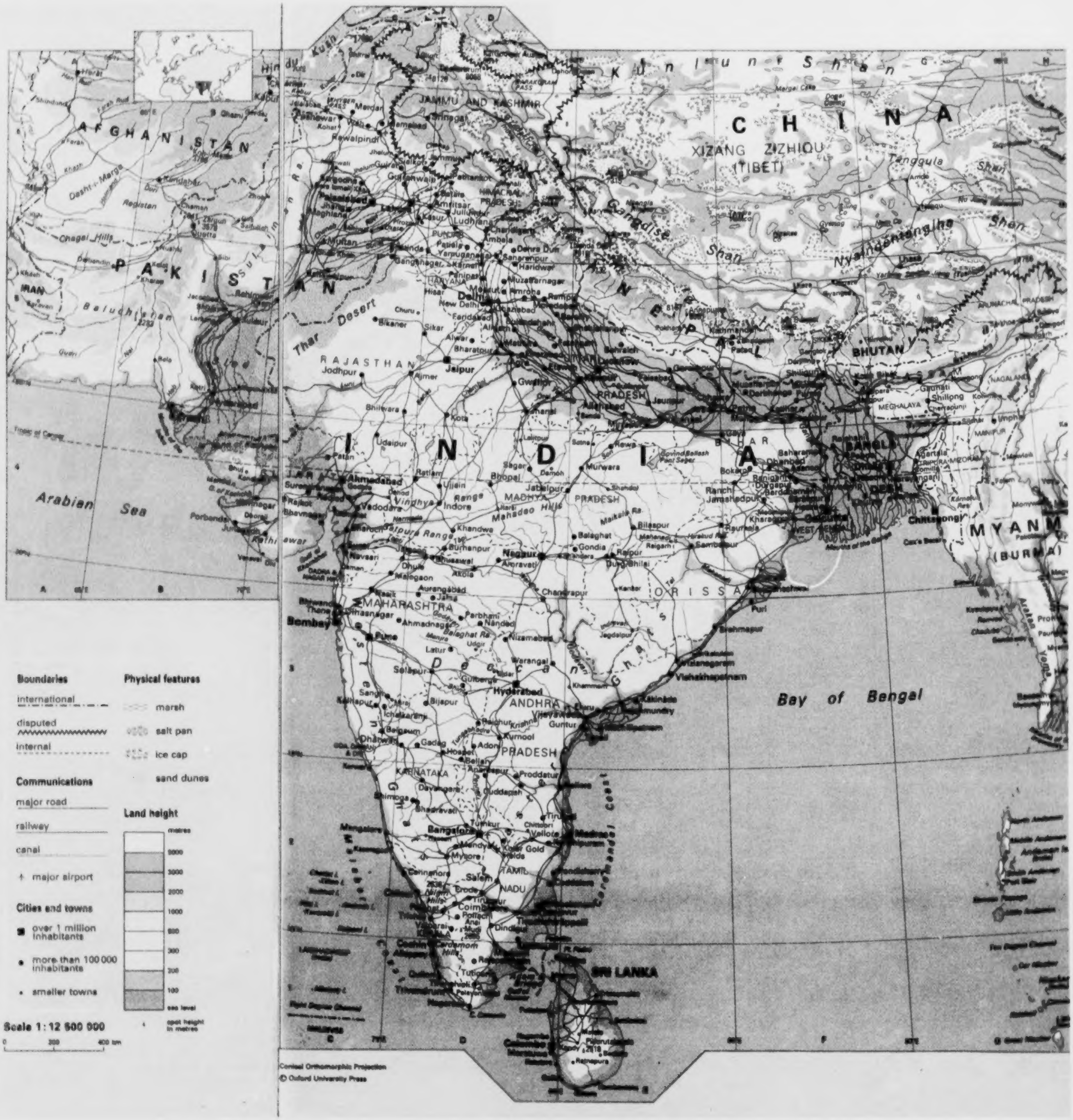
ABBREVIATIONS

AE:	Adult Education
AEC:	Adult Education Centre.
AEP:	Adult Education Program.
Centre:	Adult Education Centre
CER:	Comparative Educational Review
CIE:	Centre for International Education.
DAE:	Directorate of Adult Education.
IAEA:	Indian Adult Education Association.
ICEA:	International Council for Adult Education.
IDRC:	International Development Research Council.
IJAE:	Indian Journal of Adult Education.
NAEP:	National Adult Education Program.
NCERT:	National Council for Educational Research and Training.
NFE:	Non-Formal Education.
NIEPA:	National Institute for Educational Planning and Administration.
RFLP:	Rural Functional Literacy Projects.
SAEP:	State Adult Education Program.
SRC:	State Rescouce Centre.
SRCNE:	State Resource Centre for Non-Formal Education.
UNIV:	University.
UT:	Union Territories.
VA:	Voluntary Agencies.


CHINA
XIZANG ZIZHIQU (TIBET)
Kunlun Shan
Tanggula Shan
Nyainqentanglha Shan
Gangdise Shan
Hindu Kush
AFGHANISTAN
PAKISTAN
IRAN
INDIA
NEPAL
BHUTAN
BANGLADESH
MYANMAR (BURMA)
SRI LANKA
JAMMU AND KASHMIR
RAJASTHAN
Thar Desert
MADHYA PRADESH
UTTAR PRADESH
BIHAR
MAHARASHTRA
ANDHRA PRADESH
KARNATAKA
TAMIL NADU
ORISSA
WEST BENGAL
MEGHALAYA
Arabian Sea
Bay of Bengal
Deccan
Delhi
New Delhi
Jaipur
Bombay
Pune
Hyderabad
Bangalore
Madras
Calcutta
Nagpur
Ahmadabad
Kanpur
Lucknow
Kathmandu
Lhasa
Colombo
Chittagong
Boundaries
international
disputed
internal
Physical features
marsh
salt pan
ice cap
sand dunes
Communications
major road
railway
canal
+ major airport
Cities and towns
over 1 million inhabitants
more than 100 000 inhabitants
smaller towns
Land height
metres
5000
3000
2000
1000
500
300
200
100
sea level
spot height in metres
Scale 1 : 12 500 000
0
200
400 km

Conical Orthomorphic Projection

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

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INTRODUCTION

1.1 INDIA: THE COUNTRY AND ITS PEOPLE

India is a developing country. It is also the largest democratic country of the world with a population of 811.8 million[1] according to 1989 figures. It has a literacy rate of 43 percent.[2] It is the second most populous and seventh largest nation in the world.[3] It has an area of 3,287,263 square kilometres with approximately 247 people living per square kilometre in mid 1989.[4] India, as a country, may be characterized by the diversity of its culture, language, religion, ethnicity, and the caste system within the Hindu religion. It is, therefore, a multi-cultural, multi-religious, multi-racial, and multi-linguistic country where the caste, colour, creed of the people including their dress and food habits vary from coast to coast as well as within a region. The climate of the country also varies from coast to coast, although most parts enjoy good weather. While it may be hot and humid in the southern parts, it may be snowing in Kashmir, Simla, Gangtak, and in the adjoining areas of the Himalayan mountain ranges. The western provinces while facing a shortage of rain fall and draught, the Eastern provinces usually are hit hard by heavy rain falls, floods and cyclones in regular intervals.

The people of India speak a total of 1652 mother tongues which linguists group into 826 languages and dialects.[5] The constitution of India recognizes 16 of them as major regional languages among which Hindi, as the language spoken by about 30 percent of the population, has been the official language of the Union of India. English still retains the status of an associate official language which is widely used for official communications, transactions in courts, advance education as well as the language for scholarly purposes. Education in schools is provided in the regional languages although English continues to be a compulsory subject in the school curriculum, as well as the medium of instruction for post graduate studies.

India declared its independence from the British colonial rule on 15th August, 1947, and became a Sovereign Democratic Republic on 26th January, 1950 by giving herself a new constitution. The constitution provided for a federal political set up with a parliamentary form of government based upon universal adult franchise. The preamble of the constitution was later amended in 1976 and declared India as a Sovereign, Secular, Socialist, Democratic Republic. The country is divided into 25 provinces and 7 federally administered Union Territories, at the present time, the boundaries of which roughly coincides with the language spoken in that region. For example, the people of Orissa speak the Oriya language, the people of Gujarat speak Gujurati, the people of West Bengal speak Bengali and so on. Movement within the country is unrestricted although a person who only speaks his mother tongue would find himself helpless, if and when he visits another province which speaks a different language.

Education in India is the primary responsibility of the provincial governments but the federal government is also entrusted with the responsibilities of policy formulation, quality control of higher and technical education, promotion of scientific and technology education and development of Hindi and other Indian languages. Initiative in promoting adult education activities could be taken by either levels of government, federal or provincial, although the federal government is expected to take the leadership role, including funding. However, the provincial governments are to take the responsibilities of implementing the various adult education programs. Suffice to say that most of the educational development plans are formulated and implemented with some federal assistance and guide lines.

The general pattern of education in India is comprised of a uniform 10+2+3 education system throughout the country involving 10 years of primary and secondary education followed by 2 years of higher secondary or intermediate education and another 3 years of university education in order to obtain the first university degree such as B.A., B.Sc. or B.Comm. The Indian constitution, under its Directive Principles of State Policy, provides that elementary education is to be free and compulsory for all children between the age of 6-14 years and both levels of government, federal as well as provincial, are directed to fulfill this objective as their moral responsibility. Since the provision of free and compulsory education is only a constitutional directive and, hence not mandatory, to date this goals has remained as a distant dream.

India is a poor country as well. It is classified by the World Bank as a low income economy with a GNP per capital of $300.00 U.S.[6] ranking 15th among the 36 low income economies. It has an agricultural economic base with nearly 70 percent of the population living in rural areas most of whom are poor and illiterate. On an average in 1981, 50 percent of the population did not earn Rs.1000 (or $50.00 Can. in 1992 exchange rate) even in a full year[7]. The people are not only poor and illiterate, many of them are unskilled and do not have any vocational or life skill training to be productive and useful up to the extent of their potential. Thus, a significant portion of manpower productivity remains untapped and wasted. The plight of these people continue to deteriorate in many cases because of their lack of socio-political awareness - their acceptance of the existing situation as 'a priori' and thus unchangeable, their feelings that they cannot change or alleviate their condition, that they are too weak and that 'this is the way things are to be'. In short, they remain in a 'culture of silence' due to lack of education and dialogue and continue to be exploited by the rich and the privileged in an unequal and elitist social structure.

Since poverty breeds illiteracy and vice versa and since "the problem of poverty and illiteracy are two aspects of the same stupendous problem and the struggle against one without the same time waging a fight against the other is certain to result in aberrations and disappointment[8], the government of India has been trying to redress these problems through a massive nation wide functional literacy program called the National Adult Education Program (NAEP) launched on 2nd October, 1978. The National Adult Education Program intended to address all these problems by providing functional literacy, vocational training and consciousness raising among the underprivileged and active youths between the age of 15-35, estimated to be 100 million in 1978.

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

India is a country with a very low literacy rate. According to the latest available data on literacy, in 1990 out of every 100 people only 43 are literate. If India is the largest democratic country of the world, it is also the country which has the largest number of illiterates. According to an estimate of the World Bank, if efforts at eradicating illiteracy are frozen, India would soon account for more than half of the world's illiterates. An examination of the facts will reveal the truth of such a statement. For example, the national average rate of literacy, which was 16.67 percent in 1951, has increased to 36.23 percent in 1981. In absolute terms, the number of literate persons increased from 60 million in 1951 to 248.24 million in 1981. However, the number of illiterates had also increased significantly from 301 million in 1951 to 437 million in 1981. In simple terms, this scenario suggests that the faster growth of the population has pushed up the number of illiterates despite the government's best efforts to attain the goal of literacy for all.

The average literacy figures for the nation, however, does not provide any indication of the precariously low rate of literacy among the disadvantaged groups such as the untouchables (which are otherwise called Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes) and women. While literacy among women, in general is 24.8 percent compared to 46.6 percent for men, literacy among the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes women is abysmally low at 1.7 percent and 0.7 percent respectively[9]. Again, people in the rural areas, both male and female, in general, were disadvantaged compared to those who lived in the urban areas. For example, out of the 264 million women in 1971, 214 million lived in rural areas. While the literacy rate among the 50 million urban females was 41.9 percent, it was only 12.9 percent among the 214 million rural women[10]. Although efforts were made to educate illiterate adults in successive Five-year Plans beginning in 1951, it was only during the Fifth Five-year Plan (1974-79) that the importance of adult education, along with elementary education, as a tool for wiping out illiteracy from the country was recognized. The Plan emphasized the potentialities of adult education for socio-economic development and envisaged that adult education should be linked effectively with (key national tasks such as) elementary education and other forms of developmental education . This was included in the Minimum Needs Program (MNP) of the government. The realization that illiteracy, on such a mass scale, inhibits socio-economic progress and national development prompted the government to further crystallize adult educational programs during the Sixth Five-year Plan (1978-85). This came about with the introduction of the National Adult Education Program (NAEP) in 1978.

The National Adult Education Program was the first of its kind in the history of India which was launched uniformly on a nation wide scale in 22 provinces and 9 union territories. Its aim was to eradicate illiteracy and alleviate the conditions of the rural poor and urban underprivileged. The NAEP, while emphasizing the education of the illiterates and functionally illiterate youths and adults between the age group 15-35, also recognized the need for universalization of primary education among those between the age of 6-14 years as a part of the campaign to eradicate illiteracy by 1990. The policy statement of the government clearly mentioned that universalization of elementary education and of adult literacy were mutually interdependent[11]. Therefore, although the preferred clientele of the (NAEP) National Adult Education Program were individuals in the 15-35 age group, nevertheless people from all age cohorts were welcomed and encouraged to utilize the program. The education imparted under the NAEP was a package comprising acquisition of basic literacy skill, upgrading of vocational skills and raising the level of social awareness of the learners. The program was mainly for rural areas and even there, the priority groups are women and persons belonging to scheduled castes and scheduled tribes[12].

The number of illiterates in the 15-35 age group was estimated to be approximately 100 million in 1978. The NAEP, therefore, intended to cover 100 million adults in 5 years between the period 1979-84, the bulk of which live in villages in the countryside. The challenge was to reach the illiterate and underprivileged masses in remote rural communities from a diverse socio-economic and linguistic background. The problem was not as much reaching the people physically as reaching them socially and psychologically and convincing them to use the NAEP to help alleviate their socio-economic situation. The conservative and traditional nature of the society, the caste system, the cultural taboos and superstitions, the barriers of diverse spoken languages and dialects, the scarcity of resources, the poverty and ignorance of the people, the social structure, and the subjugation of the poor and the disadvantaged by the rich and the privileged were some of the formidable challenges that the NAEP had to encounter in order to fulfill its mandate. Given these socio-economic realities in India, it was not an easy task to introduce any program, let alone adult education, that was meant to alter the status quo in favour of the masses and much to the detriment of the elite and the privileged class in the society. Nevertheless, amid such stupendous socio-economic barriers, the NAEP was introduced with the promise of a better life for millions of underprivileged, poor and illiterate adults.

1.3 PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The general purpose of the study is to examine the National Adult Education Program (NAEP) in India during the period 1978-85. It considers first of all the historical development of adult education in India before and after independence and analyzes the emergence of the National Adult Education Program in the context of a specific strategy for eradicating illiteracy and promoting national development. The study also reviews the functioning of the NAEP during the Sixth Five Year Plan (1978-85). It examines the process of program planning and the implementation of the NAEP against the original goal target set by the government (at the inception of the program). The research attempts to assess whether the NAEP has achieved its objectives, examines its success or failure, and suggests measures to improve future adult education and functional literacy programs in India.

In short, the study reviews:

(i) The historical development of adult education in India from ancient time to the present.

(ii) The development of non-formal education in India since its independence from the British in 1947, and the importance attached to adult education in the overall strategy of development in different plan period.

(iii) The emergence of the NAEP as a strategy for eradication of illiteracy, and promoting national development.

(iv) The plans, policies and programs of the NAEP, its organization and administration at different levels (federal as well as provincial and district level) including sources of funding for this program during the Sixth Five Year Plan (1978-85).

(v) Whether there were any discrepancies between the goal targets set out in the plan and the actual achievement of the Program.

(vi) The achievements of the NAEP, at the end of the Sixth Five Year Plan, in terms of its success, failure or otherwise.

(vii) The functioning of the NAEP in the Province of Orissa, India during the period 1978-85.

1.4 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The study is limited to the period 1978 - 1985. The rationale for restricting the study between 1978-85 is threefold:

- (i) The National Adult Education Program was launched in October 1978. Therefore, 1978 is the base year from which to start its investigation.
- (ii) The Sixth Five-year Plan which originally started in 1978 was later deferred to 1980 and lasted between 1980 and 1985. It looked interesting and promising from the research point of view to focus attention on the goal-target and functioning of the NAEP during a planned period rather than a non-planned period.
- (iii) The National Adult Education Program was renamed as the Mass Program of Functional Literacy (MPFL)) in May 1986 and later changed to National Literacy Mission (NLM) in May 1988. With the change of nomenclature there were changes in policy planning, implementation strategy as well as internal structure of the program. Therefore it was thought to be most appropriate to limit the study to the period between 1978 and 1985.

Given the fact that India is a very large country, comprised of 25 provinces and 7 centrally administered Union Territories, and given the massive scale operation of the program throughout the country, it is neither possible nor necessary to discuss the functioning of the NAEP in all provinces and union territories. For clarity and feasibility, the study is limited to:

- (i) A review of historical development of adult education in India before and after independence.
- (ii) The emergence of the National Adult Education Program as a means of promoting mass literacy and national development.
- (iii) A review of policy-planning, program-implementation, organization, monitoring, administration and funding provisions of the NAEP.
- (iv) An analysis and interpretation of official documents, as well as data obtained from discussions, observations and interviews on such issues as policy framework, planning strategy and their outcomes rather than wondering on

the effectiveness of the NAEP and the benefits that have accrued to the individual adult learners due to his/her participation in the program.

(v) A historical and qualitative study rather than a sociological quantitative survey.

(vi) A case study of the functioning of the NAEP in the Province of Orissa.

1.5 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

This study is strategically important because the NAEP was a unique experiment in adult education on a massive scale in the world's largest democratic country, which happens to be the home of the largest number of illiterates and poverty stricken people. An analysis of the National Adult Education Program in terms of its problems, successes and failures can provide useful insights into the whole issue of non-formal adult education - its strengths and weaknesses and its applicability as a vehicle of social change and national development. The experiences gained and the lessons obtained from this study will not only help improve the effectiveness of the program in India, but will also provide valuable information to adult educators and educational strategists in the developing countries elsewhere (who face similar problems like India). More importantly, the knowledge and experience gained from this study might help with the planning of a functional literacy campaign in Canada where nearly 17 percent or 4.5 million people are reported to be functionally illiterate, a figure which "increases from west to east, rising from a low of 17 percent among adults in British Columbia, to an astonishing high of 44 percent in Newfoundland"[13]. It may also provide international donor agencies such as UNO, OECD, the World Bank, the IMF, the CIDA and IDRC, etc. who support educational programs in developing countries with valuable information and insights on the problem and prospects of development through education - particularly programs of a non-formal type. Finally, it is hoped that this study will provide, those involved in Third World education and development, with an awareness of the limitations of educational planning in the field of non-formal adult education and help them to recognize that structural reform is usually a prelude to improving the conditions of life among the poor in the developing nations.

1.6 RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

The research design and methodology of the study is discussed under the following headings:

1. A Qualitative Research Approach
2. Research Methodology
3. Methods of Data Collection and Types of Data
4. Tools and Techniques Used in Data Collection
5. Data Analysis
6. Sources of Data
7. Actual Data Collected

1.6.1 A Qualitative Research Approach:

A qualitative research approach has been employed for the present study. Such an approach provides an indepth and phenomenological analysis of social phenomena as opposed to quantification of variables and the scientific empiricism of a quantitative approach. A qualitative approach is based on rational interpretation of facts and figures rather than statistical analysis of tabulated data.

However, qualitative methodology is comparatively a new and growing field of investigation in the arena of educational and social sciences research. In the words of Van Maanen (1983):

> The label qualitative methods has no precise meaning in the arena of the social sciences. It is, at best, an umbrella term covering an array of interpretive techniques which seek to describe, decode, translate, and otherwise come to terms with the meaning, not the frequency, of certain more or less naturally occurring phenomena in the social world. To operate in a qualitative mode is to trade in linguistic symbols and by so doing, attempt to reduce the distance between theory and data, between context and action. The raw materials for qualitative study are therefore, generated in **vivo**, close to the point of origin. Although the use of qualitative methods does not prohibit researcher use of the logic of scientific empiricism, the logic of phenomenological analysis is more likely to be assumed since qualitative researchers tend to regard social phenomena as more particular and ambiguous than replicable and clearly defined.[14]

Qualitative and quantitative methodologies are, nevertheless, not mutually exclusive. Differences between the two approaches are seen in the overall form, focus and emphasis of study. The essence of the qualitative approach is that:

> ... it represents a mixture of the rational, serendipitous, and intuitive in which the personal experiences of the ... researcher are often key events to be understood and analyzed as data. Qualitative investigations tend also be describe the unfolding of social processes rather than social structures that are often the focus of quantitative researchers. Moreover, no matter what the topic of study, qualitative researchers in contrast to their quantitative colleagues claim forcefully to know relatively little about what a given piece of observed behavior means until they have developed a description of the context in which the behavior takes place and attempted to see that behavior from the position of its originator.[15]

The rationale for employing a qualitative approach for the present study is that:

(i) It is a piece of historical research in which in-depth, systematic and chronological representation of facts and figures are necessary rather than mere quantification of variables and statistical analysis of quantified data;

(ii) It is expected that the process and results of the research will benefit both the community and nations as opposed to quantification of informations for academic research.

(iii) It is a study based on description and induction instead of implicit or explicit prescription and deduction;

(iv) It is not a quantitative sociological and structural analysis of social phenomena nor is it a survey research which requires strenuous quantification of variables. A qualitative approach is appropriate because it deals with studying and reporting people's participation in a program that intends to improve their quality of life (which cannot be quantified).

The present study has utilized the seven steps or principles of Direct Qualitative Research as described by Henry Mintzberg (1983). The seven basic themes of direct qualitative research that have been used in this study are:

1. The research has been as purely descriptive as we have been able to make it.
2. The research has relied on simple methodologies.
3. The research has been as purely inductive as possible.
4. The research has been systematic in nature.
5. The research has tried to be as organized as possible.

6. The research, in its intensive nature, has ensured that systematic data are supported by anecdotal data.
7. The research has sought to synthesize, to integrate diverse elements into configurations of ideal or pure types.[16]

1.6.2 Research Methodology

The study has employed a historical descriptive research methodology. A historical method is particularly appropriate in this context because the study does not intend to prove or disprove facts or hypotheses. Instead, it attempts to delineate and describe the historical development of adult education in pre and post independent India, focusing on the emergence of the National Adult Education Program and examining and analyzing its functioning and performance against its objectives and goal targets. Moreover, given the nature of the topic and the timespan it covers, orderliness and chronological description of facts and figures, sequential presentation of major events, and inquiry of data with as little prejudice and personal judgement as possible are of the greatest importance. This can be better achieved through a historical approach. Again this method is justified for the present study given the fact that it deals with 'what happened' and 'what became of the implications (results)' of decisions or planning strategy rather than wondering into the process of decision making i.e. who took the decisions, why he or she took such decisions, why planning was done in a particular way rather than the other way and why the benefits of a planning strategy did not accrue to a particular group while it accrued to the other group.

The principal purpose of the study is to explain, narrate, describe and analyze the National Adult Education Program of India during the period 1978-85 in a historical perspective. Given the fact that description is the fundamental part of data collection and data enlisting in a qualitative study[17] this study intends to emphasize description before suggesting prescriptions. Since recourse to history is a fundamental necessity for any kind of research in educational and social sciences, be it qualitative or quantitative, the researcher's choice of using a historical methodology for a historical study is all the more appropriate. According to Donelan (1978):

> Any piece of research that deals with past events - be it an analysis, an evaluation, a case study, or even a quantitative survey - needs a recourse to history in some way or other because: the first step in studying the world that

> we make for ourselves in this piecemeal way is the study of history ... it is because our thoughts make the world, make the data, and we think historically. The thought that accounts for a creation, a conflict, a policy, a system, or whatever data we turn to, is never fresh thoughts in a new situation... it is always thought that is formed by remembered experience. If then we are to begin to understand our data, we must first of all know the history that keeps formulating the data.[18]

1.6.3 Methods of Collecting Data

The study has utilized the following methods for collecting data:

(i) Documentation

Both primary and secondary sources have been explored in order to collect data for the study. Sources of data include government circulars and directives, government publications, pamphlets, brochures, monographs, official addresses and statements, publications of Indian Adult Education Association, publications of the Directorate of Adult Education, Reports on adult education and NAEP, other relevant books and journals, etc.

(ii) Personal contact with NAEP policy makers, personnel involved in program planning, operation and coordination of program as well as adult education instructors and adult learners involved in the program.

(iii) Informal discussions with government policy makers, adult educators, field workers, and adult learners in Adult Education Centres and other officials involved in the process of adult education and NAEP.

iv) Participant Observation

This method of data collection has been used to develop and facilitate a greater understanding of the working of the National Adult Education Program at the grass root level. It has helped the researcher understand the deep structure as well as the surface behavior of those involved in the actual functioning of the program. Through participant field observation, the researcher is able to gather data and interpret them by comparing and contrasting the varied perceptions of the adult education functionaries and adult learners with his own perceptions. Among the many advantages of participant observation, the following are the important ones:

(1) Participant observation enables the researchers not only to analyze and understand a given social process or social phenomena, but also to compliment and supplement the data generated through other means of data collection such as interviews, discussions or even questionnaires.

(2) It is helpful in cross-checking the information provided by the respondents, i.e. to inquire about the reliability and consistency of the responses.

(3) Donald Light (1983) mentions the merits of observation as:
   a) Greater precision in measuring the time and duration of events.
   b) Facilitating/discovering the interrelationships between elements of the whole.
   c) Documenting not only attitudes more correctly but it also records what participants actually do.
   d) Allowing the researchers the vital flexibility to understand and discover.[19]

v) Open-Ended Interviews

The researcher has used three types of open-ended interviews: (i) Informal Conversational Interview; (ii) Standardized Open-Ended Interview; and (iii) General Interview Guide Approach.[20] These open-ended interviews have enabled the researcher to capture the more "subjective" type of information which is important for this study, including motivation for literacy, expectations, orientations, perception of the education provided, benefits actually accrued due to participation in the adult education process, opinions regarding the manner in which literacy training and adult education programs have been conducted in the Adult Education Centres, etc. Similar interviews were conducted with policy makers, program planners, and other officials involved in the NAEP at the federal and provincial levels. All these interviews were personally conducted by the researcher.

1.6.4 Tools and Techniques of Data Collection

All the documentation used in this study has been personally collected from various government and non-government organizations in India, as well as from books, journals and newspapers, etc. obtained in India and in the libraries of the University of Alberta.

With regard to the techniques of participant observation, the researcher visited four Adult Education Centres in the district of Cuttack, Orissa, India and was involved in direct observation of the working of adult education programs, including the learning method, the process of instruction, content of instruction, the environment and physical conditions of the centres, the attitude of learners, instructor and the local people towards the NAEP. Observations took place (i) inside the classroom (passive observation) and (ii) in and around the adult education centres during which the researchers also asked some questions to both adult learners, instructors and local people in order to obtain a vivid and firsthand information about the working of these centres.

As mentioned earlier, the researcher has used "informal conversational interview", "standardized open-ended interview" and "general interview guide approach". While the "informal conversational interview" is conducted like a free-flowing conversation between the interviewer and the interviewee, the "standardized open-ended interview" consists of a set of questions carefully worded and arranged with the intention of taking each respondent through the same sequence and asking each respondent the same questions with essentially the same words. The "general interview guide approach" involves outlining a set of issues that are to be explored with each respondent before interviewing begins. The issues in outline need not be taken in any particular order and the actual wording of questions to elicit responses about those issues is not determined in advance. The interview guide simply serves as a basic checklist during the interview to make sure that all relevant topics are covered.[21] The researcher has used the informal conversational interview and the standardized open-ended interview techniques while interviewing the adult learners and adult education instructors in the adult education centres and adopted the general interview guide approach, as well as the informal conversational interview when interviewing policy makers and other officials involved in the NAEP.

1.6.5 Data Analysis

Analyzing qualitative data is often a difficult task. It is difficult because there has been no set patterns of data analysis as available in quantitative studies. Since qualitative data is subjective in nature, it is all the more difficult to interpret and obtain a consistent and coherent result that may be valid, reliable as well as generalizable. Therefore, "it is fair to say that by the best of current standards, analysis of qualitative data is a mysterious, half-formulated art."[22] In spite of the ambiguities of qualitative data analysis, the researcher has utilized the three emerging principles of data analysis that are being used in qualitative research. They are: (1) Data Reduction; (2) Data Display; (3) Conclusion Drawing/ Verification.

1.6.6 Sources of Data

Gathering data for this study from various sources, (particularly primary data, as well as the field study) was strenuous and extensive. Collection of government literature, published materials, and unpublished secret documents from the Planning Commission of India, through the Indian Adult Education Association provided the much needed information and understanding of the whole planning and implementation of the adult education program in India.

For the purpose of this study, the researcher used both primary and secondary sources of data. However, more attention was given to the collection of primary rather than secondary data which are used only to supplement and complement the primary data base. Given below are some of the sources of primary data:

1. Documents on educational planning in general and adult education in particular from the Planning Commission of India for the different Five-year Plan periods, with emphasis on the Sixth Five-year Plan, 1978-85.
2. All policy statements, plans and programs of the National Adult Education Program collected from the Ministry of Education, Government of India, New Delhi.

3. All relevant government publications on adult education and the National Adult Education Program including brochures, monograms, outlines, statements and literatures collected from the Division of Adult and Non-formal Education in the Ministry of education and the Directorate of Adult Education, New Delhi.
4. All relevant and up-to-date information on research and evaluation of the adult education programs obtained from the Directorate of Adult Education, New Delhi which works as the Central Resource Centre for this purpose.
5. Information on the workings of the plans and programs of the NAEP collected from the officials engaged in the NAEP both at the federal and provincial levels through interview, and direct observation of the program in a few centres randomly chosen for this purpose.

Secondary sources of data include: books, newspapers, published or unpublished scholarly works such as M.A. and Ph.D dissertations on the National Adult Education Program as well as major project reports; evaluation studies of the NAEP in different states and, project reports on the working of Rural Functional Literacy Projects in other provinces/Union Territories of India; contact with academicians and adult educators who are actively involved in the NAEP, unofficial documents, publications and references published by educational authorities; and publications of the Indian Adult Education Association.

Most of the data were available in English, except some literature and adult education primers which were written in the local **oriya** language. The researcher visited his home country in March-April, 1987 and collected a good deal of data necessary for this study. Further data was collected in a second visit to India in August 1988. In addition to the primary and secondary sources of data that were available in India, some of the secondary data which are available at the University of Alberta libraries have also been utilized.

During the field study in India the researcher tried to tap the vast resources in limited time in the following ways:

1. Collection of published government literature including literature published in regional languages - languages other than English.

2. Collection of government policy statements and periodical development of the progress made on the NAEP scheme, for different years between 1978-84.
3. Visiting four Adult Education Centres in Sukinda Garh Gram Panchayat in the district of Cuttack, Orissa and discussion with adult learners, adult education instructors and supervisors with regard to the programs offered and the functioning of the Adult Education Centres.

   Observing the day-to-day functioning of the Adult Education Centres and discussions with adult learners in villages and adult education instructors provided a much needed insight into the conditions of Adult Education Centres, the physical and educational environment, the needs of adult learners, instructors, supervisors and most importantly, the overall state of adult education programs at the grass root level.
4. Discussions and/or personal interview with the following high ranking federal, provincial and university officials who were intimately involved either in policy formulation, implementation, or field administration of the NAEP scheme:
   a) Mr. L.D. Mishra, the Director General of the National Literacy Mission (changed nomenclature of NAEP since 1988), Government of India, New Delhi.
   b) Mr. Anil Bordia, Education Secretary, Government of India, New Delhi.
   c) Dr. Ram Reddy, Vice-Chancellor of India Gandhi Open University, New Delhi - a university dedicated to adult learning, continuing education and providing leadership in adult education and literacy training.
   d) Dr. Maithili Chandra, Joint Advisor of Education, Government of India, New Delhi.
   e) Mr. J.C. Saxena, Secretary, Indian Adult Education Association, New Delhi.
   f) Mr. J.L. Sachadeva, Director, Indian Adult Education Association, New Delhi.
   g) Mr. S.C. Dutta, Late President of Indian Adult Education Association.
   h) R.S. Mathur, Deputy Director, Directorate of Adult Education, New Delhi.

i) Dr. C.L. Sapra, Director, Non-formal Education Unit, National Institute of Educational Administration and Planning (NIEPA), New Delhi.

j) Dr. Anita Dighe, Director of Adult Education Unit, Jawaharlat Nehru University, New Delhi.

Also feedback and reflections on the functioning of the NAEP were obtained from a few provincial government and Utkal University officials involved in adult education programs in the state of Orissa. Discussion and/or personal interviews were conducted with the following officials in the province of Orissa:

(i) Dr. P.C. Rout, Deputy Director of Public Instructions, Orissa;

(ii) Dr. S.C. Dash, Director, State Council for Educational Research and Training (SCERT) who was also the Director General of Adult Education Programs in the province of Orissa under the NLM;

(iii) Dr. Mrs. M. Mohanty, Coordinator of the State Adult Education programs in the province of Orissa;

(iv) Dr. S. M. Pany, Deputy Director, Department of Adult and Continuing Education and Extension work at the Utkal University, Bhubaneshwar, Orissa;

(v) Kumari, Khirod Naik, Coordinator, Special Projects, State Resource Centre for Adult Education, Bhubaneshwar, Orissa.

The researcher also visited a few Adult Education Centres in the City of Bombay, and villages in peripheral Gujarat as part of a Canadian delegation attending the inaugural workshop of the Commonwealth Association for the Education and Training of Adults (CAETA) at the Ukai Dam, Gujrat in 1987. During this visit, the researcher had the opportunity to observe the working of the Adult Education Centres and discuss the functioning of these centres with adult learners as well as instructors. Adult learners and instructors provided important information with regard to the benefits and drawback of functioning of the adult education program and the personal benefits or the lack of it that had accrued to individual learners.

The researcher also had the opportunity to meet many policy makers and adult education functionaries who were either directly or indirectly involved with the NAEP, many of them involved from its very inception. In the course of discussion, the researcher obtained extensive feedback on the policy, planning and operation of the NAEP.

1.7 ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY

The study is organized into eight chapters. Chapter I, the Introduction, deals with India, the country and its people, statement of the problem, need and purpose of the study, limitations of the study as well as the importance and organization of the study, including research framework and methodology. Chapter II presents a comprehensive review of related literatures on the nature and scope of adult education, nonformal education as a strategy of development and a detailed review of literatures on the National Adult Education Program in India between 1978-85. Chapter III provides a detailed and chronological development of the history of adult education in India from ancient time to the present including education during the colonial period. It also provides a general description of the education system in India including the historical development of adult education in pre- and post-independent India.

As the main body of the research paper, Chapter IV presents a detailed outline of the National Adult Education Program and the strategy for its implementation in India during the Sixth Five-year Plan (1978-85). It highlights the background and the aims and objectives of the NAEP and would discuss the Policy Statement, the government outline of the NAEP and the organizational structure of the NAEP. Chapter V delineates the original plan envisaged in 1978 and its ramifications including its goal targets during the Sixth Plan Period. It also discusses the actual performance of the NAEP by using official documents, secondary sources such as books, journals, periodicals, as well as personal data collected by the researcher in his field visits. Chapter VI provides a detailed description and analysis of the functioning of the program in the province of Orissa during the period 1978-85. It is assumed that the case study of Orissa is a representative sample of the operation of the program in India and which helps the reader understand and appreciate the day-to-day functioning of the program. In this chapter, the researcher also reports his experiences of the field visit to some Adult Education Centres in the province of Orissa. Chapter VII reviews the progress of the NAEP between 1978-85 and the results of its performance are compared with goal targets and underlying assumptions of the plan in order to ascertain its achievements. Analysis and interpretation of data continues simultaneously with description and discussion of the problem in each chapter.

Finally, Chapter VIII summarizes the findings of the investigation, and conclusion based on the findings is developed. The conclusion also includes a list of suggestions, based on research findings, in order to improve both the quality and efficiency of future Adult Education Programs in India. The final chapter is followed by appendices and a detailed list of reference materials.

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CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

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2.1 THE NATURE AND SCOPE OF ADULT EDUCATION

> The story of adult education over the past two centuries is intimately linked with the struggle of humanity for freedom and dignity, for progress and development - for good life.
>
> - Gordon Selman

Adult education is generally conceived of as a means of providing a vast range of skills, abilities, intellectual patterns, and social and political values for a growing sector of a nation's population.[1] Coombs et al (1973) have described adult education as a positive force for development comprising a broad range of activities which varies from developing constructive attitudes towards cooperation, work, community and national development and further education, to the teaching of functional literacy and numeracy; from providing a scientific attitude towards health, agriculture and the like to incorporating functional knowledge and skills; from preparing individuals to enter into the labour market or strengthening their current occupational position to making available functional knowledge and skills necessary for civic participation.

The concept of adult education is, however, not new. In India one could trace its roots as far back as 2000 B.C. During the Vedic period (2000 B.C. - 1000 B.C.) education in India was being imparted through word of mouth and was the privilege of the upper class.[2] However, people of all ages were allowed to benefit from the preachings of the Guru (the spiritual leader). The Vedic period was followed by the Upanishadic (1000 - 200 B.C.), Dharmasastric (200 B.C. - 500 A.D.), and Puranic periods (500 - 1200 A.D.) during which education was nonformal and vocational and extended to people of all ages. However, the modern concept of adult education as a vehicle for socio-economic development and individual enrichment was nonexistent at that time.

The genesis of the modern concept of education for adults can be traced back to the post industrial revolution era in Britain in the charity movement, Sunday schools, and the Mendip operation of Hannah More and her sister, supported by Lord Wilberforce. However, it was not until the turn of the 19th Century that serious attention was paid to the education of adults. "Dr. Thomas Pole, an American born Quaker physician, resident in England, was the first to note the phenomenon of adult education and its role in society which he discussed in a book published in 1814. It was he who coined the term 'adult education' to identify the phenomenon and he would become the first to think systematically about the organization and conduct of education for adults."[3]

Adult learning as an area of education, however, developed since the beginning of the 20th Century. In Britain, the establishment of "An Association for Promoting the Higher Education of Working Men" in 1903 which was later renamed as the "Worker's Educational Association" (WEA) in 1905 did pioneering work in giving legitimacy to adult education as a field of study. Mahoney (1983) noted that the Worker's Educational Association was, perhaps the most influential of all 20th Century movements in adult education.[4] "By 1914, the Association had 179 branches and a total of 11,430 members; it survived the war [First World War] to occupy a permanent and useful place on the English educational scene."[5] Inspite of such tremendous growth in the activities of WEA, it could not cater to the needs of everyone, particularly the needs of an ambitious and articulate group of working class people who wanted institutionalized training in order to upgrade their educational level and vocational skills. In order to supplement the activities of the WEA, university tutorial classes were offered beginning 1908 which further legitimized delivery of adult education through formal educational channels. However, the advent of World War I caused a severe jolt to adult education activities in Britain and slowed down its pace.

The spirit of enthusiasm for adult education was nevertheless irreversible and the war could not stop its growth and development. During the period of the war, as early as 1917 a government committee was appointed in order to consider inclusion of adult education as part of the planning for the post-war reconstruction. The committee's final report was published in 1919, which, according to Mahoney (1983), was "the most comprehensive survey of the history and organization of adult education in Great Britain."[6] Major recommendations of the committee were:

1. Adult education should cater for the varied needs and tastes of the people.
2. The provision of a liberal education for adults should be regarded by universities as a normal and necessary part of their functions.
3. Each University should establish a department of Adult Education, with an academic head and adequate extra-mural teaching and administrative staff, to develop and co-ordinate the various branches of the work.
4. University Extension courses should be eligible for Government grant.
5. Joint committees of education authorities, universities and voluntary bodies should be established to do for non university Adult Education what the university joint committees had done for tutorial classes.
6. Local education authorities should establish evening institutes for social, recreational and educational activities, especially for young people.
7. Generous help should be given to the establishment of village institutes and lead-experiment should be made in the establishment of residential colleges in rural areas.[7]

Adult education as a field of study and research, however, developed rapidly after the First World War not only in Great Britain but also in the United States. In the United States, one could identify three distinct periods of growth of adult education (which might be described as the general trend in the field) during the 20th Century. The first period (1919-1929) was the period of idealism during which adult education was viewed as an instrument of social reform, social reconstruction and progress. The second period (1930-1946) witnessed the emergence of adult education as a vehicle to cater to the needs of its clientele. The third period (1947-1964) by contrast could be characterized as a period of movement towards greater professionalism and institutionalization. Beginning early 1970, changes in the perception of adult education from a field of study to a field of practice called for massive development in adult education programs, both in developed and developing countries. Adult education, formal, informal or nonformal, has been viewed as a vehicle of progress and economic development as well as increased productivity in the work place.

The last two decades, however, may be described as a period of innovation, reconstruction, theory building, program implementation and reconceptualization of adult education throughout the world. Adult education has increasingly been associated with individual development, economic prosperity and social change. The task of adult education in this new scenario has been to dispel the mist of ignorance and generate the ethos of popular participation in development. And according to Blakely, Hall and Kidd (1981)

> ... education can and must be employed as a strategy for development, that the education of men and women should not be limited to mere literacy, or be seen as a peripheral or leisure time undertaking, but that the enlargement of human resources is at the very heart of all economic, social and political change. Basic human needs start with basic education.[8]

However, the purpose of adult education in its new mission was beautifully articulated by President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania in his New Year's speech to the nation in 1970. President Nyerere outlined that the objectives of adult education are:

1. to shake people out of their resignation and make them realize what they can do for their communities and themselves;
2. to provide people with skills necessary to bring about change in their environment;
3. to foster nation-wide understanding of the policies of the government towards people's self-reliance.[9]

1976 was a watershed in the history of adult education. More than five hundred participants from around the world, representing 82 countries attended the largest International Conference on adult education ever convened in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. The conference theme was Adult Education for Development. This conference not only conceptualized adult education as a vehicle for both individual and national development but also opened up new vistas for subsequent ideas, innovations and international cooperation in adult education. Nonformal adult education, for the first time ever, was viewed and recognized in the developing countries as a liberating force and a tool of empowerment. President Nyerere, in his inaugural address to the conference boldly stated:

> Man can only liberate himself or develop himself. He cannot be liberated or developed by another. For man makes himself... The expansion of his own

> consciousness, and therefore his power over himself, his environment, and his society, must therefore ultimately be what we mean by development.
>
> So development is for Man, by Man, and of Man. The same is true for education. Its purpose is the liberation of Man from the restraints and limitations of ignorance and dependency. Education has to increase men's physical and mental freedom -- to increase their control over themselves, their own lives, and the environment in which they live. The ideas imparted by education, or released in the mind through education, should therefore be liberating ideas; the skills required by education should be liberating skills. Nothing else can properly be called education.[10]

The statement of Nyerere and the unanimous acceptance by the delegates of the First Principles of the Dar es Salaam Conference (presented by the Conference Rapporteur General Professor Lalage Bown), significantly changed the meaning and scope of adult education in the developing countries and set the stage for more practical adult education programs. Development became an inseparable part of adult education and aimed to improve the socio-economic conditions of the poor, the illiterates and the underprivileged masses. It also envisioned such economic goals as developed in the New Economic Order by the United Nations. The First Principles of Conference envisaged that:

> ... education, and in particular that part of education involving adults, is an essential factor (though not the only one) in promoting development processes; adult education can moreover contribute decisively to the full participation of the masses of the people in their own development and to their active control of social, economic, political and cultural change; ... All development programs and all educational programs should set out with the prime goal of benefitting human beings in their lives and in their communities, should be centred on man and should be based on respect for the individual's worth, intelligence and competence to solve his or her own problems. And that any development program to be man-centred must be inspired and carried through by the people "at the grassroots" in their communities and organizations.[11]

This dramatic and revolutionary shift in the concept of adult education was unanimously approved by the world community of one hundred and fifty nations at the General Conference of UNESCO held in Nairobi in 1978. However, this was not all. According to Blakely, *et al.* (1981), there have been many changes other than in concepts. This included: improvement in communications in adult education and enlargement of the adult education community; recognition of nonformal education as an essential part of every system of education; acceptance of the fact that adult education must be viewed as an alternative to elementary education for adults; expansion of the knowledge base and increase in trained adult education professionals; and substantial increase in practical experience in program planning implementation and delivery methods due to up-to-date information and feedbacks from adult education operations throughout the world. And all these developments have been caused by four world-wide revolutions namely: science and technology, population growth, democratization and nationalism.[12]

With changing concepts and new dimensions it is not an easy exercise to define adult education in any precise terms. The term 'adult education' may be defined in many different ways and could lend itself to various interpretations. Peter Jarvis (1985), for example, points out four different ideological perspectives of adult education based on the structure and ideology of the society concerned. They are conservative, liberal, reformist and radical. Since the conservative perspective denotes that individuals are constrained by the social system and, hence, no change is necessary, it left the other three perspectives to develop adult education programs based on their dominant ideological orientation. Therefore, the three dominant types of adult education that are pursued are liberal adult education, reformist adult education and radical adult education. While liberal adult education presupposes that man is free, independent and rational and he is free to pursue change if it is in his interest, radical adult education propounds that individual is constrained by social structures imposed by elites that prevent him from pursuing his own interests. The reformist adult education envisages that individuals are partially free and independent, although social structures still constrain. Therefore, it proposes that change should occur gradually.[13] Since the archaic structure of the society prohibits individuals, particularly the poor, the illiterate and the down trodden, from self-actualization, adult education should aim at liberating the people with a view to fighting this imposed discrimination and building a more egalitarian society.

While it is difficult to draw a distinct line between liberal reformist and radical adult education, it is necessary to perceive these three terms in the light of their use in different socio-political systems and environments. Most western and developed countries have a broad base for liberal adult education which is being pursued through a network of formal continuing education and extension work as a strategy for lifelong learning. Such education may be delivered through distance education or correspondence which is provided as a part of individual enrichment. It is normally assumed that these societies have attained a minimum threshold of basic education for their citizens. Recent research, however, has indicated that contrary to the popular belief that western countries have obtained nearly 100 percent literacy, a large number of their citizens are functionally illiterate. It was simply that the problem was never identified and it is only recently being recognized. For example, in Canada recent study has shown that 4.5 million or nearly 17 percent of Canadians are functionally illiterate. Similarly, in the United States, "a Ford Foundation Study released in 1979 reported that as many as 64 million American adults may be considered illiterate."[14]

In western societies, adult education through formal channels, is thought to be the best method of providing a lifelong liberal education for a learning society. Liberal adult education includes a whole gamut of education and training such as: vocational training, on-the-job training, career improvement, professional upgradation or part-time enrolment at the university or professional schools for individual satisfaction and personal enrichment. Adult education, thus, is conceptualized as a vehicle for creating a learning society. In the words of Boshier (1980) "Adult or continuing education must be an integral part of the learning society and cannot remain as an intermittent peripheral activity only engaged in by people with necessary time, money and energy. The social functions of adult education would be expanded in many directions and the education of children, adolescents, and adults linked together in a continuous relationship."[15]

In developing countries, however, adult education has been viewed as a vehicle for basic education and training in vocational and technical skills. In most Third World Countries, unlike the situation in economically developed countries, many of their adult educational programs are being implemented through nonformal means. Adult education, in these societies, usually refers to training in the 3Rs, education in marketable life skills, and cultivation of socio-political awareness among the massive illiterate, semi-literate, poor and under privileged people. Therefore, adult education is primarily viewed as a program for mass education for the poor and the illiterate. Since poverty and illiteracy are the two major problems of most developing societies with limited or scarce resources, these societies do not have the luxury of providing formal schooling to their children, let alone adults. The only means available to these developing countries is to provide mass educational program for their vast illiterate adult population through nonformal adult education. To this end the adult education programs formulated and implemented in most Third World Countries may be viewed as either some sort of reformist or radical adult education, although liberal adult education may also be provided through regular channels of institutional learning.

Since adult education - liberal, reformist or radical - can be pursued through formal, informal, and nonformal means it is important to point out the difference between the three types of educational process. Formal education may be defined as the institutionalized, chronologically graded and hierarchically structured educational system spanning from lower primary school to the upper reaches of the university.[16] Most radical and reformist adult education programs are usually delivered either by informal or nonformal means, although it can also be delivered through formal channels. While informal education is a lifelong process by which every person acquires and accumulates knowledge, skills and the insights from day-to-day life experiences and exposures to the environment, nonformal education could be defined as: "any organized educational activity outside the established formal system - whether operating separately or as an important feature of broader activity - that is intended to serve identifiable learning clienteles and learning objectives."[17] In simple terms, the above definition indicates that nonformal education denotes any organized and systematic educational activities carried on outside the formal school framework in order to provide selected types of learning to particular groups or subgroups in the population - adults as well as children.[18] What is novel is, however, its reconceptualization as a strategy for individual enrichment, social change and national development.

The concept of nonformal education is however not particularly new in the educational arena. Many educational activities which fall under the purview of nonformal education have been in practice for quite some time. In the words of Bhola (1983): Nonformal education is a new name for an old concern.[19] Bock and Papagiannis (1983) write that:

> Most of the wide varieties of educational activities that constitute nonformal education are, themselves, not particularly new. Trade training centres, on the job training, management training, moral or political reeducation, community development programs and even alternative schools have been with us for some time. What is new is the educational planners attempt to

> reconceptualize nonschooling education and its aim to harness a presumed potential for social change and national development. Nonformal education as a term is an important change in outlook among educators, concerned governments, and social scientists rather than an emergence of a new educational phenomenon.[20]

Again Bock (1983) notes that: clearly the concept of nonformal education... is not new. It is integrally incorporated in the literate societies. What is new is its reconceptualization as a new force through which educational and socio-economic changes are believed to occur at both the individual and societal level, and the vision of it as an exciting new strategy for combating poverty, ignorance, inequality, ill health and oppression.[21] However, Ahmed (1983) disputes the arguments of Bhola (1983), Bock (1983), and Bock and Papagiannis (1983) and contends that nonformal education as a field of both study and practice, originated in the mid 1960's. Ahmed argues that:

> The term nonformal education first gained currency in the mid 1960s. Further conceptual and definitional clarity was achieved in the 1970s with the wide acceptance of the three-fold taxonomy of formal, nonformal, and informal education.[22]

Similar views are shared by Grandstaff (1978), Naik (1980), Shukla (1980) to name a few, among many others. Grandstaff, for example, is of the opinion that the nonformal education component of most societies is strong and indeed vigorous. It is also estimated that nearly half of the present educational effort in the developing countries is in the nonformal sector. However, it is only within the past few years that the notion of nonformal education as an instrument for the pursuit of recognized educational goals - particularly those associated with national development - has emerged and attracted support and study. The concept is reawakened and reconceptualized because nonformal education responds to immediate needs and is usually related to action and use; its duration is short rather than long; it has a wide variety of sponsors, both public and private; a large clientele and it is responsive to local community requirements. "More importantly, nonformal education shows strong potential for getting at the human condition of those most likely to be excluded from the formal schools, the poor, the isolated, the rural, the illiterate, the unemployed, and the underemployed, for being carried on in the context of limited resources, and for being efficient in terms of time and cost."[23]

It is, however, difficult to define the term nonformal education in any precision although educational strategists have tried to do so. The host of definitions available in the field have tried to highlight one or more, but by no means all, attributes of nonformal education. The reason for such an inadequacy is obvious. "Definition must depend upon context, with the selection of dimensions along which formal and nonformal are to be distinguished relying upon the purposes for which the definition is being constructed."[24] In spite of the recognition of the fact that no one definition is adequate to unravel both the spirit and meaning of nonformal education, for the purpose of this study, one particular definition seems to be relevant and hence, important.

> Nonformal education is generally seen as need oriented... utilitarian... and cheaper than the formal systems. Often it is tied to some productive activity... and is characterized by... peer learning... and flexibility. Students, if the word be retained, generally enrol in nonformal courses because they are interested in what can be learned - not because it counts for a degree... And nonformal education does not engender elitist feelings among its students.[25]

Nonformal adult education then denotes a kind of learning process that is developed outside the formal and structured educational ladder and designed for adults to be productive, conscientious, and literate and thereby contribute to their overall development - economic, social and political. This explanation and the definitions encountered so far have been positivist and reformist based upon the human capital model of development legitimized by a functional approach which is described as an "individual psychological deficit model of development" by Bock (1983). The essence of this development model on which such a positive concept is built is that the injustice, inequality and disparities of society can be remedied by an increased investment in education as a means of improving the quality of "human capital". The gap between the rich and the poor, between the developed and underdeveloped countries can be extensively minimized by well planned educational strategies. It also contends that individual and social development can be initiated and sustained by providing education - formal or nonformal - to people with funcitonal skills and competence.[26] In short, this model assumes that the root of the problem of distribution of resources and status lies within the individual, not in the social structure, and can be counterpoised by prescribing more education as a cure for the deficit. Implicit in this model is the notion that change comes about by evolution as a consequence of raising through education the competence and consciousness of individuals, who in turn bring enlightened pressure, as an agent of change, to initiate structural reform. It is expected that nonformal education, due to its ability to reach a broader range of people during a greater span of their lives can do it better, cheaper, and faster.[27]

It is, however, important to remember that while most, if not all, nonformal education activities are designed for adults, not all adult education programs are offered through a nonformal framework. For example, in most Western countries, adult education is usually viewed in terms of "further education" or "continuing education" and delivered through "distance" or "correspondence" education and is provided through regular formal channels. Therefore, adult education can be pursued through formal, nonformal or informal means. No matter how it is pursued, it always focuses on individual growth and development. In short:

> Adult education denotes... the entire body of educational process, whatever the content, level and method, whether formal or otherwise, whether they prolong or replace initial education in schools, colleges, and universities as well as in apprenticeship, whereby persons regarded as adults by the society to which they belong develop their abilities, enrich their knowledge, improve their technical or professional qualifications or turn them in a new direction and bring about changes in their attitudes or behavior in the two-fold perspective of full personal development and participation in balanced and independent social, economic and cultural development.[28]

The adult learners, according to Knowles (1984), have been a neglected species. There has been very little thinking, writing and investigating with regard to adult learning until recently. Although the Indians, the Chinese, the Greeks, and the Romans developed informal learning systems and philosophized about aims of education, there was very little attention given to the process of adult learning. There were theories about the ends of adult education but none about the means of adult learning. Educationists continued to believe that adults learn the same way as children do and that the adults' attitudes and needs are no different than children. Therefore, until the beginning of 20th Century there was pedagogy for children but no concept of andragogy because adults were never viewed as species destined to learn or even capable of engaging in serious learning activities. It was believed that only children and youths were capable of effective learning and that the diversified and burdened adult mind had little potential or inquisitiveness to learn and acquire new information.

Inspite of such a belief, adult learning, according to J.R. Kidd (1959), has always continued on. However, it was only recently that concerted efforts have been directed to systematize the means for adult learning. The irony of adult education is that it has been viewed as a remedial learning rather than a positive experience for a better and healthier living.

Since the turn of the century, however, scholars and educationists in Europe as well as in North America, and to some extent throughout the world, started to believe that adults have unique abilities to learn and that they are capable of learning although their needs are different. In North America the founding of the American Association for Adult Education in 1926, and the publication of Edward L. Thorndike's work, Adult Learning (1928) were watersheds in the sense that they provided the much needed impetus for further study and research in adult education and adult learning. In his work Adult Learning (1928) Thorndike demonstrated with scientific evidence that adults could learn which conformed the earlier belief that adults are capable of formal intellectual study and exercise. Thorndike's next published work Adult Interests in 1935, and Herbert Sorenson's Adult Abilities in 1938 provided further strength to Thorndike's earlier contention with regard to the ability of adults to learn and acquire new information and established that they are just as capable as children in pursuing formal learning, although their needs, interests and abilities are different from children. By the onset of the Second World War, therefore, adult education as a field of study was beginning to take roots in Europe, North America and elsewhere.

According to Knowles (1984) two streams of inquiry emerged in the arena of adult learning simultaneously during the mid 1920s, i.e. a scientific stream led by Thorndike and an artistic stream championed by Edward C. Lindeman. It was however, the artistic stream that made inquiry into new domains of knowledge through intuition and analysis of experience. Such an attempt to acquire knowledge through exploration and experience opened up a whole new area of study in adult learning, i.e. how adults learn. The quest for finding techniques for facilitating adult teaching/learning process began with the publication of Lindeman's The Meaning of Adult Education in 1926. In his work, Lindeman put forward the foundation for a systematic theory of adult learning based on the concept of teacher-pupil relationship in which the pupil was the centre of learning activity - a concept which Paulo

Friere reintroduced much later in 1970s in the form of conscientization. In the words of Lindeman (1926):

> ... the approach to adult education will be via the route of situations, not subjects. Our academic system has grown in reverse order. Subjects and teachers constitute the starting point, students are secondary. In conventional education the student is required to adjust himself to an established curriculum; in adult education the curriculum is built around the students; needs and interests. Every adult person finds himself in specific situations with respect to his work, his recreation, his family life, his community life etc - situations which calls for adjustments. Adult education begins at this point. Subject matter is brought into the situation, is put to work when needed. Texts and teachers play a new and secondary role in this type of education; they must give way to the primary importance of the learners. ... the resource of highest value in adult education is the learner's experience. If education is life, then life is also education... experience is the adult learner's living text book.[29]

After spelling out what adult education should be and the place of adults in the learning process, Lindeman went further in mapping out the process of adult education.

> Authoritative teaching, examinations which preclude original thinking, rigid pedagogical formulae - all these have no place in adult education... small groups of aspiring adults who desire to keep their minds fresh and vigorous: who begin to learn by confronting pertinent situations; who dig down into the reservoirs of their experience before resorting to texts and secondary facts; who are led in the discussion by teachers who are also searchers after wisdom not Oracles: this constitutes the setting for adult education, the modern quest for life's meaning.[30]

In short, then Lindeman fervently challenged the conventional concept of education and attacked its intellectual bias, standardized curricula and other limitations. He believed that adult education is an attempt to discover a new method and create a new incentive for learning; its implications are qualitative not quantitative. For Lindeman, adult learners are an entirely different category of students whose intellectual aspirations are least likely to be aroused by the rigid, uncompromising requirements of authoritative, conventionalized institutions of learning.[31]

Lindeman's vision of adult education was thus:

> A cooperative venture in nonauthoritarian information learning, the chief purpose of which was to discover the meaning of experience: a quest of the mind which dug down

> to the roots of the preconceptions which formulate our conduct; a technique of learning for adults which made education coterminous with life and hence elevates living itself to the level of adventurous experiment.[32]

Knowles has summarized the essential characteristics of Lindeman's theory of adult learning into the following five basic points, (i) adults are motivated learners; (ii) adults orientation to learning is life-centered; (iii) experience is the richest resource for adult learning; (iv) adults have a deep need to be self-directing and; (v) since individual differences among people increase with age, adult education must provide for need based learning facilities while making optimal provision for differences in style, time, place and pace of education.[33] Therefore, by 1941 the formation of an andragogy of adult education was already in the making. The next four decades witnessed a steady inquiry and growth of an andragogy of adult education with a significant contribution from practitioners of adult education such as J.R. Kidd, Lawrence P. Jacks, Charles R. Mann, David Snedden, David L. MacKaye, James E. Russell, Ruth Merton, Malcolm Knowles, R. Gessner, Ben M. Cherrington, Wendell Thomas and Harold Fields, to name only a few.

The vision of adult education in the 1990s is to provide the adult learners not only remedial learning and vocational training but also to enhance the quality of life of the learners, in order to create a learning society. It has to create an environment for a new social order where the poor, the illiterate and the underprivileged can live with freedom, dignity and respect.

2.2 NONFORMAL EDUCATION AS A STRATEGY OF DEVELOPMENT

Post World War II witnessed unprecedented educational expansion in most countries of the world but more so in the developing or newly emerging nations. Student enrolments doubled, and in many countries tripled. Expenditure on education increased at a faster rate than what the resources of these countries could afford and education emerged as the largest local industry.[34] More than ever before, nations and international organizations spent vast amounts of money on educational programs. In the early 1970s some developing countries such as Chile, Singapore and Algeria were spending almost one third of their national budget on education.[35] In spite of this tremendous expansion, educational opportunities could not reach to the poor, the needy, the underprivileged, and the great bulk of the masses who lived in the villages and rural areas. This educational expansion was augmented due to the innocent belief in the modernization and human capital models as the means of achieving socio-economic growth and national development. But this was not as productive as was hoped.

Many of the early claims in support of the massive quantitative expansion of educational opportunities - that it would accelerate economic growth; that it would raise levels of living especially for the poor; that it would generate wide spread employment opportunities for all were found to have been greatly exaggerated and, in many instances, simply false.[36] The assumption on which educational expansion was justified that it would provide an impetus for modernization and development, that it would alleviate the socio-economic condition of the poor and that it would help create a social order based on a more equitable distribution of wealth and income, proved to be unfounded. Poverty and inequality within and among nations, continued to be a major threat to peace and security; illiteracy and ignorance instead of being eliminated, have in reality been increasing.

There are, among others, two important theories which emphasize education as a vehicle for modernization and development. They are: Modernization Theory of W.W. Rostow and Human Capital Theory put forward by Theodor Schultz. Modernization theory postulates development as a movement along a continuum of historical change upon which all national societies can be placed according to indices such as GNP, per capita income, acceptance of modern values... etc. This continuum was meant to describe a universal path of societal evolution, supposedly already followed by developed countries and eventually to be travelled by the traditional and underdeveloped countries.[37] The Human Capital Theory advanced by Schultz, on the other hand proposes that education is not to be viewed simply as a form of consumption but as a productive investment and that investment in human resource development would lead to socio-economic progress and national growth. However, such a faith in formal education proved to be unfounded and the "GNP trickle down model" proved to be a failure, particularly in the context of developing countries. It was also found that the expansion of education benefitted the rich, making the poor rather more impoverished. Indicators of development in the Philippines and Brazil (Grant, 1973) and India (Parmar, 1975) indicated a similar trend of traditional development benefitting those already well off, and largely missing or even harming those who were not.[38] India, for example, has been pursuing a Human Capital development model since independence, but economic inequalities have rather increased, with the rich growing richer and the poor feeling more deprived in a relative sense - even though they may be slightly better off than before. The devastating effects which resulted from of the implementation of these models of development in developing countries have been well documented by scholars such as Carnoy (1974; 1977), Dore (1976), Todaro (1977), Simmons (1980), Coombs (1968), and Bacchus (1981) to name a few. Some of these scholars have called for increasing emphasis on nonformal education as a vehicle for reaching the rural poor in developing countries.

The growing emphasis on nonformal education as a tool for rural development emanates in part from the dissatisfaction of educational planners and policy makers with the unintended consequences of formal education - school drop outs, push outs and non starters, unemployment and underemployment, the poverty it caused for the masses due to its elitist bias (as often pointed out by the Marxists and neo-Marxists propounding dependency and underdevelopment theory of development, advocating a structural change approach rather than a psychological deficit approach) - and the growing gap in wealth and participation and distributive injustice between urban and rural populations.[39] Although nonformal education has represented a shift in emphasis from the formal to out of school education as a response to the inadequacies, and failures of the formal system, nevertheless the rationale for this changed strategy continues to be within the dominant framework of human capital development. Papagiannis and Milton (1983) have rightly pointed out that:

> despite this apparent shift in development priorities, from the urban to rural, from the expansion of schooling to the expansion of nonformal education, the assumptions underlying previous development strategies have not changed. Indeed the new trends in development policy are intended to initiate and to accelerate change in the rural area only because previous strategies left this sector relatively untouched. It is still assumes that the major obstacle to development is scarce capital, scarce human capital, and the lack of well trained modern people. So even then nonformal education is a different approach to the problem of rural development, the goal of development and the beliefs about the causes of underdevelopment remain the same.[40]

This new strategy also assumed that the development of well-planned, skill-specific, low-cost educational programs outside the school system can meet the educational and vocational needs of the rural poor and urban underprivileged. It is viewed as a more effective and more efficient means of reaching the rural poor and rural sector of the economy and thereby increasing individual productivity.[41]

There are several other reasons, apart from the inadequacies of the formal system, for the renewed interest and growing appeal for nonformal education among educational strategists, policy makers, and development planners. Among these are:

1. Nonformal education is cost effective.
2. It is possible to meet unfulfilled educational needs through nonformal education and still remain within already strained educational budget (Coombs, 1971).
3. Nonformal education challenges the gap between mental and manual exercises and blends them while rejecting the arrogance of formal education (Nyerere, 1967).
4. Nonformal education is need-oriented and utilitarian.
5. Nonformal education is viewed as a part of the process of life long learning. It has become a necessity because of the growing emphasis on science and technology that affect every aspect of human life.
6. Nonformal education is perceived as a powerful vehicle for economic growth in rural areas.

7. It is also viewed as a means for accelerating political participation and social development.[42]

In essence then the strategy of nonformal education is based on the idea that opportunities for vocational skills, literacy and innovative mental exercises can be developed more efficiently and inexpensively outside the formal channel in a social setting that is much more appealing to the rural poor and the urban underprivileged. Primary among the goals of such a strategy has been the delivery of educational services to the poorest of the poor, women, the isolated rural people living in the countryside and children who are not able to attend school.[43] It is expected that through the delivery of services to a large clientele at the grass roots level, nonformal education can increase individual productivity and economic growth and would facilitate a more equitable sharing of the benefits of this growth between the elite and the masses. It is believed to narrow the gap between the two classes - bourgeoisie and proletariat, the haves and the have-nots. It is also assumed that nonformal education, with its diversified strategy and skill training, can eradicate rural poverty and help bridge the long standing income inequality in the rural and urban sector of the economy. It is considered to be the only hope for the poor and the underprivileged to alleviate their standard of living - a chance of a life time.

2.3 SURVEY OF LITERATURE ON THE NAEP

> First, we must educate adults. Our children will not have an impact on our economic development for five, ten or even twenty years. The attitudes of adults, on the other hand, have an impact now.
>
> - Julius Nyerere

Adult education, according to Nyerere (1976) has to be directed at helping people to develop themselves. It has to contribute to an enlargement of their ability in every possible way. It means that adult education is to contribute to development and promote change - both of the individual, and the environment for a better future.[44] In India, since its independence, adult education has been viewed as a vehicle for socio-economic transformation of the underprivileged illiterate people. Successive Indian governments have tried to develop adult education policies and programs in order to alleviate the socio-economic condition of the downtrodden people. However, all such efforts were piecemeal attempts primarily due to lack of political will and low priority in policy planning. The National Adult Education Program (NAEP) which was introduced in October 1978 with the advent of a new government (that believed in a different ideology than its predecessors of restructuring the economy by emphasizing agricultural production rather than industrial growth, people's participation in the process of government instead of bureaucratic control and centralization of authority, and revitalizing local economy by locally available manpower resources rather than employing non-residents of the area) was a watershed in the history of adult education in India. It was so because the government planned to wipe out illiteracy in 15-35 age group by 1985 and provide meaningful vocational skills to this large tract of population who would contribute to socio-economic growth and national development. The NAEP was thus a very optimistic program that intended to achieve a formidable task, and considerable literature has developed concerning it.

2.3.1 Review of Government Publications on the NAEP

Government publications on the NAEP were few and sparse. They were published either by the Ministry of Education and Social Welfare or by the Directorate of Adult Education. The most important among these publications was the government outline on the

National Adult Education Program (1978) published by the Ministry of Education and Social Welfare which contained a policy statement of the government with regard to NAEP and a brief outline of the "operational details for giving effect to the policy statement on Adult Education".[45] In fact this document was an exclusive excerpt of the speech by the Education Minister on the floor of the parliament on April 5, 1977 with some minor modifications incorporated before July 15, 1978. This document, therefore, only spelled out the government's intentions with regard to the pursuance of the NAEP and the rationale and philosophy behind such a move. It was however, deficient in many crucial areas such as details of field level implementations including planning, administration, supervision as well as monitoring and evaluation. It is true that this document touched upon these issues briefly nevertheless, but it did not construct any extensive operational plans or guidelines for its smooth and uniform operation. It was the government's blueprint for the NAEP outlining the major framework and living the operational details for grassroots implementation to delegated legislation and, worse still bureaucratic discretion and control. In the absence of any well-knit and coherent plans for provincial, district and subdivision level functioning of the program, it was largely left to the competence of the bureaucrats and field level functionaries to operate this program. This document would have had great value had it been supplemented by another document or documents outlining the operational plans in detail at every level of administration with a clear mandate for each level of functionaries and a handbook on the delivery methods of the NAEP at the grassroots level. However, no such supplementary document or documents were made available (at least the researcher could not obtain any comprehensive document or documents) to clarify and interpret the broad and often vague concepts and languages of the government's outline of the NAEP. Moreover this literature was so ambitious and broad in its languages and concepts that it almost relegated to being euphoric and vague. For example, it said that: "To ensure effectiveness and systematic analysis of the problems the programs should have built in mechanisms for monitoring and evaluation as well as for applied research"[46] without mentioning how to achieve it. Similarly it was mentioned that: "A prerequisite of an adult education movement is that all agencies, governmental, voluntary, private and public sector industry, institutions of formal education etc. should lend strength to it."[47] However, it did not spell out how all these departments and agencies could cooperate and help the operation of the NAEP. The document also promised that adult education programs under the NAEP would be relevant, flexible, diversified and systematic but how this could be achieved nobody knew. The vagueness of the language is also very revealing; for example, it was declared that "adult education, therefore, while emphasizing acquisition of literacy skills should also be... systematic in all aspects of organization".[48] It was nowhere explained or mentioned what the government meant by requiring adult education to be systematic in all aspects of organization. In the absence of such crucial explanations, and because of the vagueness of its presentation, it was left to the interpretations of the bureaucrats and implementing agencies to decide how to proceed.

In another dialogue in NAEP: An Outline (1978), it was mentioned that "... the NAEP will not conclude with the end of the quinquennium. A systematic follow up program shall have to be organized almost with the beginning of the NAEP - they would comprise a well organized system of mass production of books and their dissemination and inclusion in the communicational circuit of the neoliterates."[49] Anyone who is cognizant of the meaning and spirit of follow-up activities for neoliterates would wonder whether the term follow-up was misunderstood or was intentionally structured in a way that would blur the distinction between post literacy literature distribution and intensive follow-up. Mention of such unclear ideas was incomprehensible and misleading. Also given the Indian situation the government's target of educating 100 million adults in the 15-35 age group in five years was too impractical and an utopian. Such an unrealistic goal target suggests that perhaps there was not sufficient research conducted on the subject before the program was launched.

In spite of such deficiencies the government outline provided the basic infrastructure of a very challenging and formidable experimentation in adult education program in India during the Sixth Plan period (1978-85). The most promising feature of the government's position was that it demonstrated the political will to implement a program for the mass which no previous governments ever tried. The privileged elite has always feared that the inherent danger in educating the masses was that the political power might slip into the hands of the masses. The courage of the new government to embark upon a program to create a literate society was, therefore, praiseworthy.

Report of the Review Committee on the National Adult Education Program (1980) is one of the primary documents that provides a comprehensive review of the functioning of the NAEP between 1978-80. It discussed the deficiencies and drawbacks of the NAEP and suggested measures to improve the program. This report was prepared and submitted under the chairmanship of Dr. D. S. Kothari and was published by the Ministry of Education and Culture, Government of India in April, 1980. This study reviewed six areas of the NAEP: (1) adult education: its objectives and organization, including its contribution for individual and national development; (2) a review of the NAEP; (3) scope and organization of the future programs; (4) implementing agencies of the NAEP, resource development and media; (5) financing, and (6) evaluation, monitoring and research including a word about the methods of implementing the recommendations of the committee. The report even contained an appendix with regard to State Research Centres (SRC) and an extensive list of statistical data and tables concerning the functioning of the NAEP at different levels of its operation between 1978-80.

This book is an extremely useful and informative one with regard to the functioning of the NAEP during 1978-80 because it enlists the operational details of the program both at the national and provincial levels and to some extent critiques the program, thus providing an insight into the pros and cons of the NAEP for the reader. It was very gracious in acknowledging the drawbacks of the program and equally generous in providing suggestions or alternatives to improve the program. The author/authors argued that the NAEP had evoked an encouraging response and nothing should be done to undermine this while at the same time recognizing its shortcomings and weaknesses.

> Despite commendable work done in several areas, the review also brings about several weaknesses. For instance, more careful preparation is needed in the formulation of state and district plans, preparation of annual projections, training of instructors, and greater participation of all priority groups. The duration of the program is too short and provision for follow-up activities is inadequate. The link between the education and development components of the program is lacking. The feasibility of the program and the tangible benefits flowing from it are not clear. An uncertain program cannot be a mass movement.[50]

Having said all these weaknesses of the program, the author/authors went on to recommend measures to improve the program. However, most of the recommendations were very broad and mentioned in general terms rather than providing specific solutions to each individual problem. These recommendations did not deal with issue of how to achieve the desired goal while only mentioning what is to be done to improve the program. For example, it stated that "state and district plans of adult education and annual projections should be prepared"[51] but did not explain "how" this could be achieved, i.e. it did not provide any concrete ideas or views for preparing such a projection except mentioning that the provincial governments should be able to perform this task in five years. Similarly with regard to strategy of implementation, it suggested that:

> special attention should be paid to creation and sustenance of motivation among the learners... emphasis should be laid on participation of women in the program. Measures should be taken which would influence social attitudes and remove practical difficulties which women face in attending adult education classes... women should be adequately represented on advisory committees at all levels... The program for scheduled castes should pay attention to their special problems...[52]

Recommendations like these did not provide much help or support in improving the NAEP, because they remained general and broad rather than specific, all pervasive, vague and to great extent ambiguous. It gave the provincial governments and the bureaucrats the authority to determine the fine print of the nature and scope of the program including program development and delivery.

Adult Education Program (1984) published by the Directorate of Adult Education, New Delhi, listed the government's efforts in implementing the NAEP (i.e. how the program was being implemented), and highlighted some major areas of achievement until 1984. Again, this was a short document that only provided a partial picture of the whole operational detail and to a lesser extent its achievements. Details of achievement in terms of enrolment figures and adult education centres nationally as well as at the provincial level were incomplete. It did not contain any suggestions with regard to the effectiveness of the program nor did it provide any future plans. Nevertheless, it provided a primary source of information on the functioning of the NAEP albeit inadequate, during the period 1983-84.

Educational Developments in India, 1980-85 (1985) is another government publication that briefly touched upon the NAEP and its major programs. It summarized the various literacy programs undertaken by the government within the mandate of the NAEP and indicated the enrolment figures for adults in various programs, organized under the Rural Functional Literacy Projects (R.F.L.P.), State Adult Education Program (SAEP), Voluntary Agencies (V.As) and the universities, at the end of December 1984. Since this was a national report on the status of education in India in general, there was not much room or attention paid to discuss the development and functioning of the NAEP in any detail. Therefore, there was not much new information or insight provided in this monogram on the operation of the NAEP.

2.3.2 Review of Other Related Literatures on the NAEP

Materials available on the NAEP from secondary sources such as books and journals were limited and frequently repetitive in their message. Most studies dealt with the problems and deficiencies of the Program and only a few reported progress or achievement. This was quite understandable given the fact that the NAEP was an experiment, not an established program. Efforts were made continuously to improve the program, based on past mistakes and feedbaks from the field. Therefore, these studies reflected the needs as well as the spirit of the time.

Nonformal Education and the NAEP edited by Shah and Bhan (1980) is a good source book on the NAEP. To some extent the title of the book is misleading because it does not treat the NAEP as the natural evolution of nonformal education nor establishes any link between the two. This book, however, is comprised of a series of four articles or essays about nonformal education and the NAEP. "The National Adult Education Program: Background and Prospects" by Anil Bordia; "The NAEP: Social and Political Tensions" by A.B. Shah; "Legislation, Learning and Legitimization" by James A. Draper and; "The National Adult Education Programme: A Critique" by Susheela Bhan.

Bordia's study (1980) is divided into three distinct parts: (i) a brief survey of the development of the field of adult education in India until the NAEP; (ii) enlisting the salient features of the NAEP; and (iii) examining certain weaknesses against which people connected with the NAEP should be aware of. There is, however, nothing new in the first two part of

Bordia's work which provides background information on the crystallization of the concept of the NAEP. It is the third part that warned about the perils of the program which deserve some discourse. Bordia suggested that a greater degree of harmony was required between the federal government and the provincial governments (particularly in provinces where a different political party, other than the party that was in power at the federal level, was governing the province) if the NAEP were to be successful. This was a prerequisite for smooth operation of the program. Although it was the responsibility of the federal government to initiate, fund and oversee the functioning of the NAEP, it was the provincial governments were to implement the program. He argued that in order for the NAEP to be effective "every effort must be made to leave as much of the implementation of the NAEP as possible to non-governmental agencies... where the program is to be implemented through the state [provincial] government, it will be necessary to ensure autonomy and decentralization... selection of government personnel for adult education we'll have to be specially designated... solely from the Education Department... The responsibility for supervision will rest primarily with the project staff itself, who will function as a team rather than a hierarchy of subordinates and superiors."[53] Bordia also emphasized the need for careful planning, monitoring and evaluation as well as post literacy and follow-up programs. He pointed out that it was more important to give priority to the process rather than the targets.

> A common problem with all past programs has been that they were excessively target-oriented and paid little attention to content and quality. As a result, not infrequently the organizer of the adult education centre reported regular attendance of the prescribed thirty persons and the project officer reported that all the sanctioned [Adult Education] centres were running with the prescribed enrolment. The state governments when called upon to report on the size of the program in the state merely multiplied the number of centre by thirty! Naturally, these program lacked credibility.[54]

Bordia's comments seem to be very realistic given the Indian situation. It also provides a deeper insight into the actual functioning of the program. The researcher's visit to some Adult Education Centres in India in 1988 confirmed Mr. Bordia's suggestions. The researcher found out that even if some participants (learners) dropped out of the Adult Education Centre, their names continued to be listed in the enrolment register, for the instructor would not like to mention to his/her superiors that some learners have dropped out due to the fear that he would either be reprimanded or replaced for his so-called inefficiency! According to NAEP guideline each Adult Education Centre should enrol at least 30 learners.

Retention of learners in the centre has become the responsibility, though not by law, of the instructor whose job may be in jeopardy if 30 learners were not attending the Adult Education Centre. Some of the instructors, however, indicated that since they continued to persuade the dropout learners to come back to the adult education class, their names were not taken out of the attendance list for quite some time. The other side of the issue was that due to the government's emphasis on numbers and quantity, the qualitative aspect, as Bordia rightly apprehended, was neglected.

Shah (1980) in his study The NAEP Social and Political Tensions has provided a new dimension to the polemics of adult education in India. He questioned the planning process and seriously doubted the success of the program given the socio-economic and political situation prevalent in India. He argued that although the program outline seems to be very optimistic and talks about 'literacy for conscientization' and the illiterate and the poor can rise to their own liberation through literacy, dialogue and action', nevertheless the social reality in India (such as the caste system and traditional nature of the society) and the government's past record in materializing such programs indicates otherwise. Shah was very articulate in providing rationale for his arguments:

> Whether the budget provision made for the program will be adequate... is open to question. However, in programs of this kind finance is not the most important factor. Experience in planning in the last twenty-five years indicates that the absence or inadequacy of foreign aid has not been as great an obstacle to development as an inability to utilize fully the aid granted by friendly countries. Almost invariably, the causes of failure have been associated with human factor. Programs meant for the uplift of poor have generally benefitted those sections of society which have been in a position to siphon off, for their own advancement, the resources made available for the former. The poor are not organized and worse still, are even not aware of the rights to which they are entitled as citizens. Moreover, they also lack the skills and attitudes which are indispensable if they are to organize themselves in order to realize these rights. There is serious ground for believing that the NAEP would meet the same fate as other development programs in the past precisely in those sectors in which its professed objectives are the most relevant.[55]

In the Indian scene, Shah's observations were not only logical but realistic and true as well. The benefits of whatever development, that occurred after the independence, went to further enrich the well to do and perhaps to a lesser extent to the emerging middle class. The poor, the illiterate, the downtrodden and the under privileged did not receive anything tangible except promises. It has been an irony that invariably it is the illiterates who are also poor and the underprivileged as well.

The more important issue that was raised by Shah was, however, the social tension that might be caused by the implementation of the NAEP. Shah suggested that the NAEP might fail or its achievement might be minimal due to the resistance at the local community level by the privileged groups. He envisioned a fierce resistance by privileged caste Hindus against the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, men in relation to women, and the landlords, and rich people's interests in relation to the landless and the poor. The results of such a scenario, according to Shah might be continual civil strife in every village where the program was implemented without compromising its major objectives [i.e. conscientizing the poor and the illiterates] - and such conflict, in the short run, could wreak havoc against the poor and the exploited.[56] Once again, Shah's predictions seem to be somewhat true. There were social tensions and class conflicts, however, not as serious as was portrayed by Shah. There were reports of pockets of resistance by higher castes and landlords in rural areas but not in all parts of the country nor was it a regular occurrence either. It depended a lot on the geography, economy, politics, class cluster, and educational opportunities available in a particular province or region. Such events were and still are more visible in provinces or regions where society is more conservative and traditional, relatively poor in economic resources and by national standards, and where the presence of a large segment of untouchables or other backward castes could pose a threat to the hegemony of the higher caste Hindus, and where the nature and dynamics of the provincial government policies discreetly favours the higher caste Hindus at the expense of the poor and the lower castes. Bihar, for example, a province in the eastern part of India, has a history of social unrest mostly based on class and caste conflict. Fighting between higher caste Hindus and the untouchables (i.e. scheduled castes and scheduled tribes) is not uncommon in this province and there have been instances where lower caste Hindus were burned to death by the higher caste Hindus. In a province such as Bihar where religious dogmas, superstitions and poverty and illiteracy are pervasive, implementation of the adult education programs is almost sure to bring about increased social tensions. The less conservative and traditional is the society, the less is the possibility of social conflict. While discussing the social fabric of India, we must remember that India is a country but not a nation in true sense of the term, it is rather a nation of nations and a culture of cultures where each subculture has a tradition and value system of its own.

One of the other significant factors that Shah highlighted in his brilliant work is the notoriety and possible non-cooperation or hostility of the Indian bureaucracy which could prevent smooth operation of the program. To quote Shah:

> The bureaucracy is not likely to prove particularly helpful in the implementation of the NAEP. Since the Policy Statement and the program outline have been formulated by the people at the top, it cannot openly challenge them; but it would be naive to expect that the bureaucracy will faithfully implement the program merely on this account. On the contrary... the bureaucracy will make every effort to sabotage the program in the name of procedural rules - which, it need not be added, will in most cases be framed by itself - and in the ostensible interest of preventing the development of social and political tensions.[57]

The nature of bureaucracy in any country is perhaps the same, i.e. to protect its self-interest and to operate as a privileged club exclusive to its members only, regardless of the sociopolitical realities around it. It is more so in India, however, where the bureaucracy has tasted the benefits of power and position by ruling the timid millions and trampling down their legitimate rights.

Shah's study, therefore, has provided a very useful insight into the dynamics of the Indian society and the place of NAEP in it. The study, however, lacks in providing any practical solutions to some of these serious problems. Perhaps, most of us know, or at least are cognizant of, what the problems are, which is rather easy, but nobody knows what the answers are. It would have been more sensitive and credible for the author to provide some long term solutions rather than just identifying the problems - which perhaps is the prelude to find an answer or answers.

Legislation, Learning and Legitimization by James Draper (1980) analyzed some of the conditions necessary for the success of the NAEP. In many ways the title of this study is misleading too because it discussed everything except what the title promises to discuss. Draper talked about challenges and changes to the NAEP, adult education, learning and its implications for development, learner motivation, the need for innovation, the link between formal education and the NAEP including the role of universities/colleges in the NAEP, however, he did not examine how the NAEP could be legitimized in the sociopolitical context of India. The author, however, briefly discussed the political will of the government to legislate on the NAEP.

> Decisions about development and education are both political acts. Their parameters depend upon a political will and appropriate and innovative legislation... For the first time in India's history, there does appear to be a political will at the national level to seriously take up the challenge of poverty, under education and human resource development.[58]

Other than this short mention about political will, legitimation and legislation there was no mention of the process of legitimization whatsoever. Draper argued that the NAEP should be viewed as a 'social development movement' and that every effort must be paid to achieve this end by the government as well as all others who are connected with the NAEP. However, good intentions and efforts are not enough, if efforts are not channelled in resourceful and innovative ways. Vocational training must be linked to real life situations where the learners would gain experience and training through learning by doing, thus emphasizing innovative learning methods. He cited an example in West Bengal, a province in the East Coast of India, where the participants in the Adult Education Centre learned true meaning of words such as: fish, pond, market, etc. including the value of cooperative enterprise by actually raising funds for pisciculture, did involve in pisciculture and made a hefty profit by selling fish in the market and then equally sharing the profit. The innovativeness of the method is well accepted, however, one cannot but be compelled to question the "time span" such an innovative method might involve, particularly when the specified time for each stage of the functional literacy programs under the NAEP is less than 10 months duration. In spite of some logistic ambivalence, the author seemed to be aware of the short comings of the NAEP as he acknowledged:

> As much as one would wish otherwise, the NAEP will bring with it many casualties, as a result of poor teaching, irrelevant teaching materials, and an overall lack of understanding - if not disrespect - for the adult learner. That this should happen will be regrettable.[59]

Perhaps the most valuable piece of advice that Draper had provided was to preserve the best of cultural traditions in the face of new ideas. "What adult education programs must try to avoid is to deprive individuals or communities of the best of their traditions... Educational programs need to find a balance between retaining the richness of traditions and introducing new ideas and ways of doing things."[60]

Susheela Bhan (1980) in her study The National Adult Education Program: A Critique (1980) refuted and challenged the government's assumptions behind the NAEP and suggested that many of these goals are unattainable, hence euphoric, given the Indian socio-economic situation. Bhan systematically rejected the three main assumptions of the government behind the NAEP, i.e. (i) the illiterate and the poor can rise to their own liberation through literacy dialogue and action; (ii) adult education should emphasize the imparting of literacy skills to persons belonging to the economically and socially deprived sections of society, and; (iii) the learners can transform their destinies and the adult education program will lead to the improvement of their functional capability for the realization of this objective.

To start with, Bhan suggested that through literacy and dialogue and action [action by whom? and for what? to transform the social inequality? or action to get out their (learner's) own miserable condition?] the poor could not rise to their liberation. The government's assumption was that poverty was equivalent to material deprivation and since the individual or individuals were responsible for their own situation and they could improve their situation by their own action. According to Bhan poverty was not simply a matter of deprivation, as viewed by the government but a much more complex social phenomenon. As C.T. Kurien (1978) suggested: if poverty is deprivation for many, it is also affluence for few that causes poverty.[61] Bhan extended Kurien's argument further and argued that: "poverty is not only deprivation but also disparity... and if poverty is so understood, then providing a second best system to people who had nothing so far, while reserving the best one for the haves, does not necessarily reduce disparity and hence poverty in the relative sense".[62] Studies by Bhagwati (1973), Patel (1979), DiBona (1977), Adishesiah (1977) and Dasgupta and Tilak (1977) supported Bhan's line of thought, and suggested that the educational system in India remains elitist (elites who get the best education and all privileges that good education brings about) in nature and continued to serve the interest of the dominant class at the expense of the poor. For example, Bhagawati (1973) in his study "Education, Class Structure and Income Inequality" indicated that it is the social hierarchy of status and class that determines who benefits from education and which class would have greater and better access to labour market, job opportunities and other privileges.

The second assumption that literacy skills could and would eradicate poverty, exploitation and social injustice among the economically and socially deprived sections of the community was, according to Bhan, simply inaccurate. Bhan analyzing Carnoy and Levine's The Limits of Educational Reform (1976) argued that poverty, inequality, injustice and oppression could not be eliminated nor even reduced through educational programs. Educational programs, formal or nonformal, has the history of widening the gap between the rich and the poor rather than providing equal opportunities to all. Studies by Todaro (1977) and Bock and Papagiannis (1983) and Bacchus (1979) provided evidence to support Bhan's contentions. Todaro, for example, in his brilliant work, 'Economic Development in Third Worlds' (1977) suggested that:

> Many of the early claims made on behalf of the unfettered quantitative expansion of educational opportunities - that it would raise levels of living especially for the poor; that it would generate widespread and equal employment opportunities for all... have shown to be greatly exaggerated and in many instances simply false.[63]

Bacchus (1979) in a rather polemic article: "Structural Transformation as a Prerequisite for the Success of Nonformal Education Programs in Economically Less Developed Countries" (lead paper delivered at the Commonwealth Specialist Conference on Nonformal Education for Development in January 1979, New Delhi, India) eloquently explained the myth of education as a vehicle for social justice and warned that even the alternative system of nonformal education would also be futile if no structural transformation in the very nature of the society was pursued. Bacchus argued that in spite of tremendous increases in educational budget between 1950 and 1970 by 211%, 465% and 511% for first, second and third level enrolment in developing countries, the poor had not benefitted much from it and that such expansion had only supplied qualified manpower to the 'small modern sector of these societies'. Also due to the elitist nature of the society in these countries the privileged class had greater and better access to education and thus to employment opportunities leaving the poor in the cold. Since "the rate of unemployment does not necessarily decrease with an increase in the level of education"[64] and since the education system of most developing countries had helped increase rather than decrease the existing income inequalities[65], Bacchus argued that unless the income differential between the 'high wage' and 'low wage' sectors was minimized to an acceptable level, nonformal adult education as a strategy of development to serve the illiterate and the poor would neither be acceptable nor beneficial to the poor. Instead such an attempt to substitute nonformal adult education for formal education would further depress the conditions of the poor and would destroy their hopes of economic improvement through them as well as through their children.[66] To quote Bacchus:

> Unless there is massive structural transformation in the reward system of these societies, nonformal education will never be fully accepted by the general populace and will remain no more than a peripheral activity in the field of education in these countries.[67]

Bock in his work "The Institutionalization of Nonformal Education: A Response to Conflicting Needs" (1976) and Bock and Papagiannis in their study: "The Paradox of Nonformal Education and the Unplanned Emergence of Strong Participation" (1983) in Bock and Papagiannis (edited). Nonformal Education and National Development: A Critical Assessment of Policy, Research and Practice (1983) argued that nonformal adult education reinforced existing inequalities rather than reducing them by serving mainly as a cooling out function, limiting disappointment by reducing pay off aspirations. The elites in developing countries maintained a two tier system in which the nonformal adult education sector worked to lower the aspirations of the illiterate and the underprivileged while securing the position of the dominant class. Such assertions about the implications of nonformal education has been supported by the studies of Evans (1981), Bhola (1983), Dall et al (1983), Ahmed (1983) and a host of such other scholars.

Bhan (1980) then continued to attack the third assumption of the NAEP, i.e. the ignorance of the weak causes social inequality and exploitation and hence education would eradicate or change such a state of affairs. In her relentless refutation of this assumption, the author quoted the then Prime Minister Morarji Desai who in his speech to the members of the National Board of Adult Education on November 2, 1977 said:

> If we have literacy throughout the country within five years, I think we should have done a great task. I would not be haunted by anything else because then we will have laid a firm foundation in this country never to slide back into either poverty or ignorance or anything else.[68]

Bhan challenged such a view of the Prime Minister as simplistic, impractical and nonsense. In her opinion, to accept the Prime Minister's position is to accept or to dream that "... the elites have arrived at a unilateral decision that they will share their wealth and power... that Indian society will stop producing poverty and squalor for the masses... when this major educational adventure gets through.[69] Last but not least, Bhan questioned the validity of the assumption that somehow this time the program would be successful while all such previous programs have failed.

The other important areas on which the author had focused her search light were: the spending pattern, the unrealistic goal target and the inefficient and inadequate government machinery to handle the formidable task of implementing the NAEP. With regard to spending pattern she feared that most of the funding allocated for the program could be spent in the salaries for high ranking officers, administrative structure, vehicle allowances for bureaucrats and secretarial help for the officials rather than on programs for the poor. "Consequently, although it has been the intention of the planners of the NAEP to invest the bulk of the programs' resources in the rural areas, willy-nilly they will get channelled into the urban areas."[70] Bhan also made her own calculation and argued that the cost of educating an adult would be approximately Rs200 as against the government's original estimate of Rs80 (i.e. approximately $4.00 Canadian in 1992 exchange rate).

All told, Bhan's study is a valuable one in providing a deeper insight into the socio-political dynamics of the Indian society and the place of adult education in it. It reaffirms our belief that a change in the social structure in favour of the poor is a prerequisite for the success of any adult education program and that the best intentions of the government and the policy maker could be stalled or foiled by self-seeking bureaucrats and ignorant functionaries. The study by A. T. Seth (1982) revealed that a majority of the officials either involved or responsible for adult education programs did not clearly understand the purpose of nonformal education. Seth (1982) observed that:

> A majority of officials and villagers do not really understand the purpose of nonformal education. The programs are more academic and teacher centered rather than specifically oriented to the community needs. There is a lack of adequately trained and experienced personnel engaged in the program.[71]

One has to wonder how a program such as the NAEP was to operate effectively when persons in charge of the program did not understand its purpose.

The History of Adult Education in India (1980) by S.C. Dutta is a useful study so far as examining the history of adult education in India from the Vedic period until the recent time. However, it did not deal with the National Adult Education Program with any detail nor provide any intellectual discourse with regard to the NAEP. The study provided a brief description of the NAEP, the major programs that are covered under it and an outline of its major achievement in some areas by the end of Sixth Plan period, i.e. 1984-85. The author stated plain facts without any interpretations or judgement of his own. In about 14 pages Dutta tried to provide his reader a tour of the NAEP between 1978-1985, a task that was impossible except as just a quick glance at the program. In spite of such shortcomings and lack of depth Dutta's work is praiseworthy in the sense that the information provided by him is accurate, precise as well as unprejudiced.

Adult Education for Social Change by Rao, T.V., Bhatt, A. and Rama Rao, T.P. (1980) is an interesting study of the functioning of the NAEP in the province of Rajasthan. This was a study by three authors based on their extensive field work in the province with the assistance of 17 other scholars. The general tone of their findings was very positive and they challenged the pessimism and cynicism of the doubters about the success of the program. In the preface, the authors' optimism was amply reflected: "We feel NAEP has had a good beginning in Rajasthan. The negative images about the program are far from the truth."[72]

The study painted a positive picture of the general operation of the program in the province. it made a thorough investigation of the day to day functioning of the NAEP in 58

Adult Education Centres out of a total of 606 adult education centres functioning under the administrative control of seven voluntary agencies in the state during 1978-79. During 1979-80, out of a sanctioned 1180 adult education centres a sample of 67 were taken for study by these seven voluntary agencies.[73] Although it was a study at the provincial level, nevertheless the feedbacks from this research is useful because it provides an idea about the problems and progress of NAEP in general. The three basic areas in which instructors perceived that NAEP had been useful were literacy, awareness of social problems, and its general helpfulness. While (49% of instructors believed that the NAEP was useful in imparting literacy skills, only 27% thought it helped create social awareness, and only 21% agreed that the program had helped the learners). It is, however, important to mention that the instructors' perception about the contribution of the program in the area of creating social awareness contradicts this researcher's own field visits in Orissa and his discussions with the Adult Education officials involved with the NAEP, in 1988. It also contradicts the federal government's own studies and reports such as the Report of the Review Committee on the NAEP (1980) and The Report of the Working Group: Adult Education in the Seventh Five Year Plan (1985-90) (1984) which suggested that the program primarily remained as a drive for literacy and "the component of functionality and awareness were either missed completely or inadequately covered."[74]

With regard to the problems experienced by instructors, approximately 49% cited inadequate and irregular facilities at the Adult Education Centre. The instructors mentioned inadequate physical facilities at the centre including insufficient supply of necessary materials to the centre. They also suggested that the location of the Adult Education Centres were often inconvenient. These findings are supported by this researcher's own study and visit to AECs in Orissa and is also recognized by other scholars working in the field. The study by Rao *et al.* (1980) also gives us a deeper insight into the problems of dropouts from the centre and their (the dropouts) own suggestions to improve the NAEP. This aspect of the study is very useful given the fact that there have been very few, if any, studies conducted on the possible causes of drop out and its remedies. The investigators found out that while migration and occupational pressure/hard labour are the primary causes of dropping out followed by reasons such as marriage and family pressure, a significant number of dropouts indicated that they would rejoin in the program provided that adequate lighting facilities were available in the Adult Education Centre, that the AEC was located in a convenient place (perhaps close to their homes for quicker access), and that employment opportunities in the village or in the vicinity were available.[75] It is interesting as well as significant to mention that adequate lighting facilities in the AEC during the class time was viewed as an absolute necessity. It may seem trivial to us, but, if one considers the Indian situation where many AEC do not have electric power supply and learners have to study in the dim light of the hurricane lantern powered by kerosene oil, it would be a big concern. We also have to consider that these are adults, often more than 40 years of age (although the target group it supposed to be between 15-35 age group anybody could participate in the program), who might have age related viewing difficulties as well. Such difficulties are expressed by the learners and are coterminous with this researchers own observations and findings.

Considering the above facts, no wonder a large number of drop outs suggested that, in order to improve the program, it is essential to provide adequate and regular facilities to the AEC including good light arrangement, entertainment facilities, and occupational and vocational training.[76] According to the study a significant number of village elites suggested imparting more agriculture based knowledge and emphasis on cultural programs. They also urged that a separate room or building permanently built or available to be the official Adult Education Centre where all activities of the centre would be carried out. Although such a facility is available in some centres, it is not a common feature. Usually the AE classes are held in the instructor's home or some other learner's house as prearranged by the instructor and the site of the class could change according to the availability of space in somebody's house, as well as according to the convenience of the instructor.

In essence, the study by Rao *et al* (1980) maintained a positive tone about the functioning of the NAEP in Rajasthan. The authors argued that the NAEP had been doing well and that a very positive atmosphere was created in the province with regard to NAEP. According to them the success rate of literacy was high: "From our survey it appears that about 15 to 18 adults per centre [maximum 30 learners per centre could be enroled] are definitely becoming literate. A few of them are getting something better than literacy and they belong to the economically lower sections of the society."[77] The study suggested that with selection of efficient and committed instructors, by developing curricula with short modules on a variety of topics by the use of mass media and films and flexibility of operation at the grassroots level with some decision making power to instructors and supervisors, the programs under the NAEP could be vastly improved. However, the authors worried about the excessive emphasis on quantity rather than quality and the regular ritual of form filling and record keeping. Such emphasis in numbers and quantity and record keeping work had cut into the instructional time for learners and deprived the instructors and supervisors from some other useful and productive activities.

2.3.3 Review of Appraisal Studies on the NAEP

A few appraisal studies on the functioning of the NAEP were conducted in different provinces of India. These studies were undertaken either by voluntary agencies or by scholars working in the institutions of higher learning and were usually sponsored by the government or by the institutions concerned. The Directorate of Adult Education later compiled these studies and reported them in a volume called Appraisal Studies of the Adult Education Program in Bihar, Gujarat, Maharastra, Rajasthan, and Tamil Nadu (1981). None of these studies, however, dealt with all aspects of the NAEP. Nevertheless, they provided a basic understanding of the functioning of the NAEP at the grassroots level.

Appraisal Studies of the Adult Education Program in Bihar, Gujrat, Maharastra, Rajasthan and Tamil Nadu (1981) is a useful study compiled by Mathur, R.S. and Chand, P. and published by the Directorate of Adult Education, Ministry of Education and Culture, Government of India. In this volume, there were three studies which reported on Bihar: Sachidananda et al (1981). Voluntary Efforts in Adult Education in Bihar; Verma, K.K., Lal, Manohar, Mishra, Rajeshwar (1981). Adult Education for Development: A Study of the NAEP in Bihar; and Dey, B.R. and Natrajan, R. (1981). Evaluation of the Adult Education Program in Nine Districts of Bihar; three studies on Gujrat: Sharma, A., Shah, V., Parikh, B.K. (1979). Adult Education in Gujrat: An Appraisal; Sharma, A., Sharon, G., Veena, D.R., Parikh, B.K. (1981): Adult Education Program in Gujrat Revisited; and Mathur, R.S. (1981) Evaluation of the NAEP in Seven Districts of Gujrat: An Interim Report; one study on Maharastra; Hebsur, R.K., Aikara, J., Henriques, J. (1981), NAEP in Maharastra: An Evaluation; two studies on Rajasthan: Rao, T.V., Bhatt, A. and Rama Rao, T.P. (1980), Adult Education for Social Change; and Pestonjee, D.M., Laharia, S.N. and Dixit, D. (1981), NAEP in Rajasthan: Second Appraisal; and only one study on Tamil Nadu; Ramakrishnan, K. (N.D.) NAEP: An Appraisal of the Role of Voluntary Agencies in Tamil Nadu.

All three studies conducted in the province of Bihar observed that the NAEP was functioning satisfactorily and that the response of the people for the program was positive and encouraging. The success rate of the program in terms of its literacy component was reasonable with a majority of learners could sign their names while approximately 50% of the learners who enroled and continued in the program on the first phase (i.e. 10 months) could manage with simple reading, writing and arithmetic. These studies also found out that enrolment in the program gave the learners a sense of confidence and self-reliance, and to some extent made them aware of the facilities available to them by the government including their rights, duties and privileges as citizens.

The need for better physical facilities at the Adult Education Centre including permanent housing for the AEC, adequate and timely supply of teaching learning materials, need based curriculum, selection of committed and efficient instructors, in-service training for the field level functionaries, emphasis on functionality and awareness components of the program and stronger post literacy and follow-up activities are some of the major areas of concern that these studies have highlighted. However, the study "Evaluation of the Adult Education Program in Nine Districts of Bihar" (1981) suggested that more centres should be opened to give better representation to women and children. Children between the age of 6-14 who are not attending formal schools must be allowed to and encouraged for attending the adult education class.[78]

The three studies conducted in the province of Gujarat had similar feedbacks as to the studies in Bihar. With regard to innovative suggestions, Sharma *et al* (1981) in their study Adult Education Program in Gujrat - Revised suggested that strict criteria should be adhered to hiring of instructors, continued effort for mass organizations of weaker sections in rural areas, learners non-involvement in the political issues, and program functionaries at the field level to be equipped with pedagogical skill, social awareness and creativity.[79] Mathur (1981) in his study "Evaluation of the NAEP in Seven Districts of Gujrat: An Interim Report" observed that the NAEP had been functioning reasonably well in the province. However, it remained primarily a program for literacy and numeracy. Even in this area the achievement was very modest, out of an expected target of 1,225,754 adults in seven districts only 74,660 were made literate by 1981.[80]

The study of Hebsur, R.K. *et al* (1980) NAEP in Maharastra: An Evaluation in the State of Mahastra was sponsored by the Tata Institute of Social Science, Bombay in order to identify the areas of strength and weakness of the NAEP in the province. This survey study was conducted in 298 sample adult education centres out of a total of 5,241 centres covering ten districts of the province.[81] There was hardly anything new that came out of the study nor any innovative ideas that the investigators suggested. In fact, in their recommendations, the authors reiterated most of the major findings of similar studies done in other provinces. The study highlighted the need for better physical facilities at the centre, selection of efficient instructors, greater emphasis to enrol women and underprivileged groups, efficient and adequate supply of teaching learning materials, and greater importance given to functionality and awareness component of the program. The study however, did not provide any specific techniques or blueprints about how to deal with the problems or improve the program except providing broad outlines.

There were two appraisal studies conducted in the province of Rajasthan - one between 1978-79 and the other in November - December of 1979, both reported in 1980. The first study Adult Education for Social Change (1980) by T.V. Rao *et al* which was subsequently published was discussed earlier. The other work by Pestonjee, D.M. *et al* (1980) NAEP in Rajasthan: Second Appraisal was sponsored by the Indian Institute of Management, Ahmedabad in 1979 with the objective of providing a fresh feedback with regard to the functioning of the NAEP in the province. The study was based in examining the daily operation of fifty voluntary agencies involved in providing adult education program in the state under the mandate of the NAEP. "Conceptually it [was] not significantly different in its approach from the first appraisal study [by Rao, T.V. et al (1980)]. As a matter of fact, the experience gained in the first appraisal study helped in focusing the key issues for the second study."[82] Admission of such an approach of the study also made the findings of the study very clear at the outset. No wonder, like the first one, this study observed that "NAEP was on the whole well received by the villagers, the village elite and all those who were connected with its implementation."[83] Again this study too repeated the recommendations made by other similar studies, with regard to better physical facilities in the centre, better instructors with effective training program for them, improving teaching/learning materials according to learner's needs, and immediate and effective follow-up and post literacy programs. The only innovative suggestion that this study provided was that rewards or incentives should be given to the adult education field functionaries for their commitment and good work at various levels. No critical assessment of the program was highlighted in this study.

The only appraisal study in the province of Tamil Nadu was conducted by Rama-Krishnan, K. (N.D.) "NAEP: An Appraisal of the Role of Voluntary Agencies in Tamil Nadu", sponsored by the Madras Institute of Development Studies. The appraisal was based on the study of adult education program organized by 31 voluntary agencies covering 2,287 adult education centres. However, only 97 adult education centres were studied as samples. The main objective of the study was to assess the achievement of the program including delineating its strengths and weaknesses and developing a future strategy, if possible. The investigators suggested that it was too early to assess the impact of the NAEP in terms of social change for it takes a long time for benefits of social change to be visible and filtered to real life situations. They also pointed out that lack of motivation on the part of the adult learners and lack of adequate physical facilities at the centre are the two most significant impediments in the success of the program. Bureaucratic red tape in releasing funds to voluntary agencies has also caused additional problems for the implementation of the program. The investigators indicated that although most learners could sign their names; only a very small percentage acquired literacy that could be considered useful... on an average four learners per centre [out of 30 learners] become adequately literate."[84] Their significant discovery was, however, with regard to the functioning of the adult education centres. They found out that: "fifty-eight of the 97 sampled AECs had ceased functioning after completing the 10 month program and funds were not available for the starting of new batch or post-literacy programs. Of the remaining 39 AECs, 22 could be observed while conducting classes. Ten remained closed for quite some time and seven did not function on the day investigators visited them. Some of these when visited again were not found to be functioning."[85] This finding gave startling evidence of the irregularity and nonfunctioning of the adult education centres contrary to the popular belief presented by the government and government sponsored studies. This researcher also received hints of such a scenario in the province of Orissa during his visit to some Adult Education Centres in that province in 1988.

The appraisal studies on the functioning of the NAEP in five provinces have been useful in the sense that they have given an idea of its operation in different provinces and provided some feedback as to what could be done to improve the program. However, these studies do not provide any critical assessment or intellectual discourse with regard to the program. They appear superficial and hollow [and somewhat endorsing the NAEP]. It is surprising that critical and sensitive issues such as: higher salary for instructors from a miserable Rs50 per month [which was increased to Rs100 in 1988], reward and incentives for the learners to attend the adult education classes, snack provision for the learners to attract adults who would have come to the centre on empty stomachs, supply of essential materials to the instructors such as flashlight, umbrella, and a bicycle were never even raised let alone discussed in these studies. Moreover, all these studies have suggested broad measures to improve the program without specifying the techniques or blueprints to achieve them.

Some of the other evaluation studies conducted on the National Adult Education Program - Naik (1979) A Quick Appraisal of the National Adult Education Program in Gujrat; Natarajan (1982) Evaluation of NAEP in Bihar; Dighe, *et al* (1981) Appraisal Studies of the Adult Education Program; Directorate of Adult Education, Bihar (1981) Adult Education and Social Change; Acharjee, N., Mitra, M., Vanijour, M. (1983) NAEP in Bihar: Study of Five Blocks in Bihar; Nilima and Mitra (1983) Evaluation of Adult Education in Dhanbad; Centre of Advanced Study in Education, Baroda (1981) Evaluation of NAEP in Seven Districts in Gujrat: An Appraisal; and Subramanium, A., Khana, I, Bhatt, A., and Singh, A.K. (N.D.) Managing an Adult Education Project: Fourth Appraisal of the National Adult Education Program in Rajasthan - have revealed that the program heavily emphasized literacy training, that participation of learners in the program on a continuous basis for a period of 10 months was difficult to achieve, that more concerted efforts were required with more number of centres and other physical facilities for the learners, that functionality and consciousness raising deserved greater attention, that the field functionaries were inadequately trained and therefore required more "job specific and field oriented training", that the teaching learning materials were unsuitable and irrelevant to the needs and aspirations of the participants, that there was a lack of tempo in post literacy and follow-up activities, that the lower cadre field functionaries were not motivated enough because of low salary and no other benefits and that there was a lack of qualified women instructors and women participants in the program and that the built in monitoring and evaluation system did not work properly, to name a few, but important findings.

2.3.4 Summary of the Literature Review on the NAEP

The NAEP was launched with high hopes and expectations. The government outline on the NAEP was optimistic that the Program could provide functional literacy to 100 million adults between the age of 15-35 by 1984. It mapped out the infrastructure and the operational details. However, the government could not comprehend the enormity of the challenge nor did it take into account the attitude of the people nor the efficiency and cooperation of the functionaries involved in the program. The NAEP started encountering problems almost immediately after its inauguration. People involved in implementing the programs, and scholars observing its functioning were quick to point out its weaknesses.

Therefore, there were mounting criticisms of many aspects of the program soon after its implementation. There was criticism of the lack of coordination, inadequacy of the program to motivate learners, deficiency in the training of functionaries, irrelevance of teaching materials, insufficient emphasis on post literacy activities, lack of proper supervision, lack of adequate women instructors, inadequate community support and incomplete coverage.[86] There were also concerns expressed by many that the program was mainly confined to literacy training while the other two components namely functionality and awareness had been ignored. A few evaluation studies conducted by government and non-government agencies on the working of the National Adult Education Program in different provinces also highlighted the deficiencies of the program. Some even suggested discontinuing the NAEP because it did not serve its declared purpose. Studies by Brij Kishore (1982) "Adult Education Program: Justification and Implementation"; Rai, and Sigh (1981) "Elites Resistance to NAEP"; and Shah (1980) The NAEP: Social and Political

Tensions suggested that the elites in India, particularly at the village and community level, would resist the National Adult Education Program because they were afraid that the education of the mass would reduce their power, privilege and status in the community. Brij Kishore's study indicated that the detractors of the program claimed that the program would not make significant progress, that the people were too busy to attend Adult Education classes and that the money be gainfully utilized for other development activities such as primary education and therefore, both money and time might not be wasted.[87]

However, in a vast country like India, where freeplay of opinion has been the way of life, expression of such concerns by a few is inevitable. In a brilliant study, Devdas (1979) "Whither the NAEP?" explained the positive side of the program and concluded that the achievements have far superseded its deficiencies. She stressed the need for a 'national will' for the success of the program and suggested to reconciling the differences from the greater perspective of national development. She viewed the problems as challenges and not as barriers to the program. Draper (1980) in his study Legislation, Learning and Legitimization has beautifully explained this dichotomy in theory and practice of the NAEP. According to Draper:

> The National Adult Education Program is essentially a program of education, but education in the widest sense of the work. But, in addition, the NAEP is not void of revolutionary characteristics, although not in the violent sense. The NAEP attempts to bring about a kind of revolution in the sense that it attempts to resolve the wheel of balance between those with and those without power, between the rags and riches of society, between the riches of wealth and education and poverty of material deprivation, as well as the poverty of emotions and ideas. Of course, the attempt to bring about such changes will be resisted and the resistance will be based on tradition, the control of power, superstition, custom, and the undue risks involved in making changes.[88]

Studies by Tiwari (1978), Sharma (1979) and the Report of the Review Committee on National Adult Education Program (1980) also highlighted the major problems in the program. Tiwari (1978) in his study Adult Education Program: Some Apprehensions suggests that the program was highly unrealistic because "the existing adult education program is too ambitious in targets, conservative and unplanned in approach, optimistic in achievements, unrealistic in implementation and utopian in nature. Within the given framework and resources, the education to ten crores (100 million) adults within 5 years period is not possible."[89] Similarly, Sharma (1979) and the Review Committee (1980) regretted that the program remained basically as a literacy campaign. Sharma (1979) indicated that "The adult education centres are least equipped to deal with the other two basis components of NAEP, namely social awareness and functionality. The achievement of the learners in these seems to be on the low side. One half of the instructors, and in a specific case, 89 percent had not received any teaching materials relating to many important aspects of social awareness and functionality."[90] The Report of the Review Committee on NAEP (1980) noted that "the program so far have largely remained confined to literacy... as far as the awareness component is concerned... there is generally speaking, a lack of clarity among the workers regarding the meaning and content of awareness".[91] Similar concern was also expressed by Mohan Kumar (1985) in his study Frustrations and Suggestions of an Adult Education Trainer in which the author expressed that he was "frustrated because of the slipshod way in which the Adult Education Program is being implemented in the field. The reasons for this frustration are: the lack of committed persons in the field, over emphasis on literacy, the gross negligence of awareness and functionality components, improper and inadequate training, inadequate supervision and guidance, improper and inadequate reporting".[92] In short, the major difficulties of the program, were:

> The program largely gave literacy skills and even the literacy attainments were very modest. On account of lack of coordination between the education departments and the development agencies, the components of functionality and awareness were either missed completely or inadequately convened. The program did not provide for post literacy services... The involvement of students and the educated community remained very peripheral. Even though the priority sector namely women, schedule castes and schedule tribes, were covered through the program, the motivational hurdles continued and the overall impact was not very encouraging.[93]

The appraisal studies and feedbacks on the working of the National Adult Education Program provided a new direction to the program in its operational mode and priority areas during the Sixth Plan Period (1980-85). One of the important developments affecting the NAEP was the appointment of a Review Committee in October 1979, under the chairmanship of Dr. D. S. Kothari known as the "Kothari Review Committee on NAEP" to review the working of the NAEP in all its aspects and recommend necessary changes that would improve its implementation. The suggestions of the Review Committee, which the government of

India had accepted by and large, became the guideline for the implementation of the National Adult Education Program in the Sixth Five-year Plan (1980-85).

The Kothari Review Committee while regretting that the program had mainly been confined to literacy training and ignored the other two components of the NAEP (namely functionality and awareness) recommended that "all persons between the age of 15-35 should be covered in the shortest possible time by a program of adult education and nothing should be done to weaken the momentum generated in the community for the program. The National Adult Education Program should be continued and steps taken to radically modify and strengthen the program."[94] According to the Review Committee, Adult Education was included in the Minimum Needs Program (MNP) in the Sixth Five-year Plan (1980-85) and also in the 20 point Economic Program of the Government that envisaged 100 percent coverage of illiterate adults in the age group 15-35 by 1990 through nonformal education which was estimated to be 110 million in 1981. It suggested to establish a National Board of Adult Education in order to implement and coordinate the programs of the NAEP and to advise the government on Policy issues. The curriculum of the program was designed to be implemented in three phases of 10 months each covering approximately 300-350 hours in the first phase (Basic literacy) about 150 hours in the second phase (reinforcement of literacy skills), and approximately 100 hours at the third phase (ensuring retention of functional literacy).

While the new strategies and guidelines provided the necessary adrenalin to the program, budgeting constraints continued to be a major problem. For example, according to the estimates of the Review Committee, in order to educate 100 million people at a minimum cost of Rs.150 per learners, an amount of Rs15,000 million[95] was necessary against which only Rs.1280 million was allocated during the Sixth Plan Period.[96]

In spite of financial difficulties the National Adult Education Program continued with full vigour according to the new strategy announced for the Sixth Plan period. An attempt was made to cover all districts below the national literacy average with more than one Rural Functional Literacy Projects, and the Provincial governments were asked to put more efforts and money for adult education under the State Adult Education Programs. There was a clarion call to transform the adult literacy program into an adult literacy movement. Parikh (1986) in Mass Movement for Adult Literacy: Formidable Task suggested that not only the program be converted to a movement but more importantly, people should be told that "unless they acquire literacy within a stipulated period of three to four years, they will be deprived of it forever".[97] Similarly, Adiseshaih (1985) in A Mass Campaign for Adult Literacy and Dutta (1985) in Hundred Percent Literacy: Perspective and Plan have suggested new ways to make the literacy campaign a success. While Dutta emphasized the need for new propaganda and communication techniques and suggested that the government should implement an 'Each one Teach one' principle which would require that each educated person in a village or locality should be asked to make one person literate within a given period of time, and those who cannot afford time should be penalized up to a Rs.100 per annum,[98] Adiseshiah advocated that: the teachers and students of all Arts and Science colleges, universities and higher secondary schools should be mobilized to undertake a teaching campaign for a six month period postponing all examinations during that period.[99] This was thought to be the only hope to achieve the targets of 100 percent literacy under the NAEP by 1990. However, Tilak (1985) in Growth of Literacy in India: An Analysis has argued that India cannot achieve 100 percent literacy in the 15-35 age group by 1990 as envisaged by the government simply because the younger generation would move to the 15-35 age bracket and would swell the member of illiterates much more than the estimated figure of 87 million by 1990. He also maintained that if the rate of growth of literates in the age group 15-35 years which was 5.39% between 1971-81 could be maintained in the 1980's then the rate of literacy would increase to 60.7% by 1991. This would still leave 129 million adults in this age group illiterate.[100]

Some of the relevant studies that have dealt with the NAEP and highlighted the need for concerted efforts to eradicate illiteracy for rural development are: Mohsini (1982) Eradiction of Illiteracy: Towards a Comprehensive Program; Saraf (1985) Integrating Literacy with Development; Reddy (1985) Adult Education and Rural Development; Moshini (1983) Authentic Development: The Role of Adult Education; Mishra (1981) Literacy and Development; and Sharma (1985) Adult Education in India: A Policy Perspective to name a few but important ones. The general tone of these studies was positive towards the NAEP who view adult education as a part of the strategy of human resource development and maintained that "literacy to be education must be functional".[101] While these studies pictured the bright side of literacy campaigns two other studies - Sahay (1983) Teach Them What They Need and Jalaluddin (1983) Levels and Duration of Literacy pointed out the futility and impracticality of literacy training from the perspective of its duration and level. These authors argued that the phasing of the NAEP literacy curriculum to three years was not only impracticable but insensitive to the needs of the rural people as well. In the words of Sahay:

> the (Review) committee seems to have entered the field of paradox... they say that instead of a ten month's course it should be three years course. Now, is there any logic in this? ... I will tell you what the difficulties of these committees are. They do not have in their mind the picture of what happens in the villages.[102]

These authors suggested that a duration of four to six months should be good enough for adult learners to complete literacy training without making it an unnecessary burden and drudgery.

The universities in India have also been playing a key role in the implementation of the NAEP and making it a mass movement. The University Grants Commission (UGC) provided 100 percent financial assistance to the universities and colleges to augment adult education programs during the Sixth Plan and by the end of March, 1985 all affiliating types of universities and about 1500 colleges in the country were involved in organizing nearly 20,000 Adult Education Centres.[103] Studies by Dutta (1978), Universities and NAEP; Shah, L. (1979) Role of the University in the NAEP; Shah, M. (1981). Role of Universities and Colleges in Adult and Continuing Education; and Daswani (1985) Role of Universities and Rural Literacy Campaign have discussed the strategic importance of universities in providing support and new direction to adult education program in India through direct involvement in the program, as well as developing new methodology for training of adult educators and learners, producing learning materials, and monitoring and evaluation. Daswani (1985) however, argued that so far the potential of the universities in this regard have not been fully explored and they are under utilized. The studies by Eyford (1973) Universities Role in Training of Adult Educators and Kaur (1979) Role of Universities in Training, Research and Evaluation of Adult Education have also emphasized the need of universities to take a leading role in adult education in general, and training of adult education functionaries in particular.

Of particular significance are some of the studies conducted on the participation of women in the NAEP, Studies by Ansari (1984) Some Aspects of Women's Education in India; Rao (1986) Adult Education Program: A Study on Women's Performance; Fernandes (1984) Development of Women's Education: Problems are Suggestions; Kaur (1979) Adult Education Program for Illiterate Women in the Age Group 15-35; and Dighe (1985) Programs with Focus on Women's Involvement: The Case of India have suggested that the backwardness of Indian women have largely stemmed from their socio-economic dependance and marginalized role in the Indian society. Heavy household work and social role expectations due to age old social customs and taboos have kept the women at bay particularly in the rural areas. Explaining the socio-cultural setting of women Dighe writes:

> The societal expectations of the role and obligations of Indian women reflect a traditional bias the idea of womanhood being that of a woman who is loyal, faithful, passive, submissive, self-sacrificing, self effecting. "Women, by this concept, are expected to be dependent on, and obedient to, the father before marriage, the husband in marriage and the son in the old age or widowhood.[104]

However, the reasons given by Mitra (1979) for low female literacy and impediment to women education are very vivid and revealing. According to Mitra:

> The problem of female illiteracy is compounded by a variety of cultural, economic, sociological and even anthropoligical factors. First and foremost, is the reluctance to give girls and women freedom of movement and acknowledge the equality of the sexes in most communities, although the constitution insists on it. Second, is the usage to keep women in economic subjugation as long as possible. Literacy and education is the greatest subversive force against this subjugation. Third, is the compulsion to marry girls while still young so that they continue to be in economic and social subjugation for the rest of their lives. Fourth, is the survival of a variety of ethnographic and anthropological mores, including variants in the institution of marriage, divorce, separation and inheritance, requiring strict enforcement of the economic and social subjugation of women.[105]

It was against this socio-economic and cultural background that whole issue of women education and their participation in the Adult Education Program should be viewed. Seeing things in this light one would realize why the NAEP had given the highest priority to women as the main target group.

Other literature that has dealt with the NAEP and have focused mainly on its problems and suggested measures to improve it are: Adiseshiah (1979) Adult Education

Development and the NAEP; Dighe, *et al* (1981) Appraisal Studies of the Adult Education Program; Choudhary (1981). NAEP in Bihar - A Study in Retrospect; Adiseshiah (1978) Some Issues Posed by Nonformal Education: A Viewpoint; Singh (1980). The Software of the NAEP; Gugnani, H.R. (1980) Fieldwork in Adult Education; Adiseshah (1980). Adult Education in India: The Task Ahead; Maitra (1979) A Report of the Seminar on the Role of Voluntary Agencies in the NAEP; Adiseshah (1981). Reviewing, Restructing and Reviving the NAEP; Nanavatty (1985). National Education Policy and Adult Education; Sambaiah (1983) Adult Education Program: Viewpoint of Dropouts; Indian Adult Education Association (IAEA) 1978. Translating Concepts into Methods and Programs, IAEA (1980) Towards a Dynamic Adult Education Program; IAEA (1982) Authentic Development: The Role of Adult Education; Sharma (1979) NAEP - The National and Regional Objectives; Muthayya and Prasad (1982). Adult Education in Rural Development; Kumar (1979) NAEP: Some Suggestions; IAEA (1979) Points of View: Comments and Suggestions on NAEP; Vashistha (1981) Adult Education: An Economic Rejuvenation; Jalaluddin (1978) NAEP: A Perspective; Ahluwalia and Deousker (1978) NAEP and the Integrated Rural Development. All these studies have tried to articulate the NAEP by useful suggestions and recommendations. However, most of these studies are dull and often monotonous, given the fact that they all convey the same message of common deficiencies such as: lack of motivation of learners, irrelevant teaching learning materials, lack of coordination among different implementing agencies, lack of funding, lack of post-literacy activities, lack of supervision, poor implementation and so on, which the NAEP suffers and suggest more or less similar measures to improve it. Often these suggestions are very general and broad in nature, prescriptive and vague rather than specific and concrete. For example, reported in the Indian Adult Education Association (1978) Point of View: Comments and Suggestions on NAEP suggested that: "the neoliterates have to be taken care of by a rich follow-up program. For this purpose village/town libraries should be set up. Some good work was done in punjab before 1947 when we had libraries in most of the cities, towns, and even in some villages".[106] Suggestions like these are not only vague but also irrelevant and useless. Constructive suggestions with specific prescriptions to improve adult education programs are found to be few and limited. Concerted efforts must be made to accelerate research and development in adult education in order for adult education to serve as a catalyst for individual development and future socio economic change.

Given the nature of the studies undertaken on the different aspects of the functioning of the NAEP, suffice to say that there has been no study yet conducted on the total functioning of the NAEP as a whole at the national level, nor has there been precise work done highlighting the state of adult education in the province of Orissa under the NAEP. The present study is therefore, significant in the sense that not only would it provide completed information on the progress and achievement of the NAEP between 1978-85, it would also fill in the vacuum that has been existing in this area so far. The study is also important and notworthy because it found out facts that are contrary to government publications and documents. Such a study was therefore, long overdue. The findings of this study could provide useful direction for future adult education programs in India and elsewhere.

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CHAPTER III

HISTORY OF ADULT EDUCATION IN INDIA

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3.1 ADULT EDUCATION IN ANCIENT INDIA

> Adult education is the newest and paradoxically also the oldest discipline in India.[1]

India has a rich cultural heritage. The tradition of mass education "through word of the mouth" (i.e. providing moral and religious education to the masses by verbal means) that centered around social and moral issues can be traced back to the Vedic period (roughly around 2000 B.C.). Saints and Gurus used to preach the philosophy of harmonious community living and the metaphysics of life and death in the context of the moral and social obligations of the people. Education was viewed as the means to a fruitful social living leading to self-realization and emancipation of human souls. The spirit of education revolved around individual development - moral, spiritual and social - and community needs. In the words of Lal (1983), "Although not called by this name, adult education has existed in India from very ancient days - from the time when the art of writing was yet unknown. Ancient education in India was in terms of community needs; its objective was to fill a man to be a member of such a community."[2]

It is, however, important to remember that when the art of writing was developed, literacy was considered of marginal importance as compared to "real education" which consisted of religion, philosophy, art, music, knowledge, self realization, harmonious social interaction and most importantly, the control of mind. In Ancient India, the aim of education was Chitta-Vritti-Nirodh i.e. the inhibition of those activities of mind by which it gets immersed with the world of matter and objects. True education must help an individual to achieve emancipation from the bondage of the circle of life and death. Education was thus religious, spiritual as well as pragmatic. Development of the "self" or individual enrichment was the focus of learning activities. Against this backgroundf educational philosophy, literacy although prized was not necessarily required for educational endeavour.

Ancient Indian education could be roughly divided into two broad phases. The first phase which may be known as the period of "Indigenous Aryan civilization", stretched from 2000 B.C. to 500 A.D. This first phase may also be subdivided into three distinct periods according to the socio-economic realities of the time. They were:

1. The Vedic period - approximately between 2000 B.C. - 1000 B.C.
2. The Upanishadic period - approximately between 1000 B.C. - 200 B.C.
3. The Dharmasastric period - approximately between 200 B.C. - 500 A.D.

The second phase may be labelled as the "Puranic Period", that stretched between 500 - 1200 A.D., during which time the Buddhistic influence on Aryan institutions of learning was significant.

During the beginning of the Aryan civilization in India, education was restricted to the priestly class or the Brahmins. The Brahmins being at the top of the caste hierarchy (as prescribed by the Hindu Religion) were the privileged class in obtaining education and thereby controlled the other castes by virtue of their superiority. Later, with the division of labour and further stratification of castes and subcastes according to occupation, education was available to Kshatriyas (the warrior class) and Vaishyas (the business class). However, educational privilege was denied to the lower caste Hindus known as the Shudras.

Formal education for boys used to start with a religious ceremony called Upanayana around the age of 8 or 9. "By 'upanayana' the teacher, 'holding the pupil within him as in a womb, impregnates him with his spirit and delivers him in a new birth'. The pupil is then known as Dweja or 'born afresh' in a new existence... The education thus begun is called by the significant term Brahmacharya (meaning thereby the beginning of a virtuous mode of life) indicating that it was a mode of life, a system of practice.[3] With upanayana the student was introduced to the home of the preceptor or Guru. The students lived in the Ashram, a solitary and serene place where the teacher lived and taught his/her students, for at least 8 years or until they were 16 years of age. Sometimes he stayed even longer in order to obtain all necessary physical, mental, spiritual as well as vocational training needed for a fruitful life. After the completion of education at Gurukula, the Vidyarthi (or student) usually engaged in another 6 to 8 years of apprenticeship or skill training, living a life of simplicity and hard work. During the period of their skills training, between the age of 16 - 24, the students could opt either to live with the Guru in his Ashram or stay in the community and learn his trade from a professional craftsman. This period was to provide functional education to adults who would enter into "Grihastha" or married life around the age of 24. Occupational and vocational skill training for adults were both unstructured and nonformal in nature.

Education in ancient India was viewed as a continuous process of learning through experience and Prabachana by the Guru or the learned saints. The Guru or saint used to visit different communities periodically and preached the philosophy of life and death, religion, morals and practical worldly suggestions for better life to 'Grihasthas' or adults, who had entered married and family life. Although the modern concept of adult education was nonexistent, nevertheless, some form of learning experience for adults was in place.

The Aryan civilization in its early days provided a different kind of education for women. Although education was not denied to women, nonetheless it was not encouraged either. It was believed that women could contribute better to family life and social development by being a companion to their spouses at home, taking care of the household and children. Women were often excluded from performing religious rituals. However, they were encouraged to teach young children at home through stories about morals, manners and modesty in order to promote character development. This does not mean that women were not educated or learned. Indian history bears testimony of some very learned and wise women, even during the early period of Aryan civilization. Women such as Gargi, Maithili, Lopamudra and others were highly respected and enlightened ladies of their day. Nevertheless, as a whole, education for women was not a priority at that time.

The first phase of ancient education as mentioned earlier, could be subdivided into three periods: Vedic, Upanishadic, and Dharmashastric.

3.1.1 The Vedic Period (2000 B.C. - 1000 B.C.)

This was the earliest period of Aryan civilization in India. Since Veda, "the ancient Indian script of knowledge and practical guide to the existence of human life", was the architect of civilization - the principles and practices through which the society was governed - this period was known as the Vedic period.

During this period the social fabric was simple and men and women had equal rights. Since complex economic activities and division of labour was yet to develop, rigid stratification of caste and class was virtually unknown. Education was imparted through the "word of the mouth" and was the privilege of upper class males. Saints and hermits used to deliver education in public places or in somebody's house. Adult males of all ages and occasionally ladies normally attended lectures by the Guru.

3.1.2 Upanisadic Period (1000 B.C. - 200 B.C.)

As population started growing and the society gradually began to be divided into groups, complex social relationships and division of labor gave birth to a rigid caste system. Society was divided into four groups of people, broadly categorized according to their occupation. At the top of this hierarchical structure stood the "Brahmins" or the "priestly class" who possessed power and position as the sole spokesman of religion and religious rituals and to help all other groups achieve emancipation. Education continued to be a privilege of this class since they were to be learned and wise in order to act as a channel of communications between God and the people of other castes. The two other castes Khstriyas (warrior class) and Vaishyas (business class) in order of hierarchy were entrusted with the task of administration and commerce respectively. The Shudras being at the bottom of the caste hierarchy were to serve the other three castes above them.

With the above stratification of the social structure, educational privilege was extended to Kshatriyas and Vaishyas as necessitated by the circumstances but not to the Shudras. Even in those days, the higher class knew the empowering battery of power of education. Apart from philosophy, morals and religious vocational skill training started to form part of the educational process.

3.1.3 Dharmasastric Period (200 B.C. - 500 A.D.)

This period witnessed an expansion and consolidation of education in India. According to Dutta (1986):

> The Dharmashastric period saw a good deal of development in art, literature, mathematics and dramatics. Sanskrit had become classical language but the language of popular communication was Prakrit.[4]

With the caste system crystallized and rigid, occupational skill training constituted an integral part of the instruction, more than before. Although such skill learning was part of the "total education" the Brachmachari or student used to receive during his prolonged learning process at Gurukula or Ashrama usually between the ages of 16-24, nonetheless any adult could receive such skill training from a professional craftsman (or Guru) worldly in an informal way if they so wished.

3.1.4 Puranic Period (500 A.D. - 1200 A.D.)

The second phase of ancient education stretched between 500 - 1200 A.D. and is known as the Puranic Period or the Buddhist Period. This was a period of turmoil in the established Vedic education and culture and witnessed the emergence of two new religions, or rather breakaway traditions from Hinduism, namely Buddhism and Jainism.

As the Vedic ritual and learning became more and more complex, and the caste system becoming more rigid, educational privilege was restricted to the higher castes only. In the words of Kochhar:

> Education was mostly confined to Brahmans and Upanayana was being gradually discouraged among the non-Brahmans. The vast bulk of population consisted of the Shudras (the fourth class) and the Antyajas (the lowest class). They generally came to be denied all access to education. Even among the superior castes of Brahmans, Kshatriyas, and Vaishyas, higher learning came gradually to be restricted to Brahmans only and the Kshatriyas and Vaishyas ordinarily received an elementary education and professional training for their livelihood. Religion was reduced to a complicated ritual to be performed by Brahman priests in a language broadly intelligible to a small number of people. All these above factors contributed to a revolt against the rigidities and rituals of Hinduism and gave birth to Buddhism and Jainism.[56]

During the Period of Buddhism and Jainism, education in India took a different mode. Unlike the Vedic education systems, education under the influence of Buddhist religion and culture was open to all irrespective of caste, creed and sex. Because of its openness and its protest against the rigidities of Hinduism and Vedic culture, Buddhism as a religion, and the Buddhist educational system made quick appeal among the ordinary people. Many low caste Hindus who were otherwise subjugated and were deprived of educational and other opportunities welcomed this new educational philosophy. Education became open to all and was centered around monasteries and was not dominated by the priestly class. All education, sacred as well as secular, was in the hands of monks. Institutions of higher learning such as

Nalanda, Taxila and Vikramshila gained international reputation. The Chinese traveller, Hieun Tsang, wrote about Nalanda:

> The priests (monks) to the number of several thousands, are men of the highest ability and talent. Their distinction is very great at the present time and there are many hundreds whose fame has rapidly spread through distant regions. From morning till night they engage in discussion. The old and the young mutually help one another.[7]

Indian culture and education was at its zenith during this period. [Education for adults also received an impetus during this period.] The great body of low caste Hindus and others who converted to Buddhism took advantage of the new principle of equal access and opportunity to education in order to fit into the new social and religious order. Occupational and vocational training for adults, including literacy education was imparted to adults of all ages by the monasteries and monks. Thus, before the inroads of Islamic culture into India during the medieval period, education was rich in content and elaborate in nature in order to cater to the needs of the people. It aimed at providing physical, moral, intellectual, spiritual as well as pragmatic education to the pupil.

3.1.5 Education in Medieval India

With the beginning of the Medieval Period, the Muslim system of education found its way into India. The Muslim rulers after invading India quickly started integrating the socio-cultural milieu into the Muslim cultural tradition by establishing Muslim educational institutions. The Muslims had two distinct types of institutions - Maktabas and Madrassas. The Maktaba corresponded to the elementary schools which were usually attached to the mosques and functioned with the primary objective of teaching the 3 R's so that people could read the Holy Quran. The Madrassa was an institution of higher learning which usually prepared a highly selective group of men for the professions - teachers, judges, doctors, etc.

Under the Tughlaq dynasty, Muslim education made splendid progress. However, Muslim education reached its highest peak during the period of 'Akbar the Great'. This period (during Akbar's administration) witnessed an integration of Hindu and Muslim cultures. Both Hindu and Muslim educational institutions flourished side by side. Residential colleges were established for post-graduate studies in arts and sciences.

Education for adults, however, did not receive as much encouragement and patronage. Education for women also received a setback as they were to stay within the home boundary. The free interaction and association of women with men were restricted by religion (Muslim religion) and, therefore, a significant portion of the population remained deprived of educational opportunities. There was no infrastructure to provide basic education to adults except for the Maktabas which were primarily entrusted with the responsibility of educating children.

The major features of Hindu and Muslim education were as follows:

1. Education was religion centered.
2. The forests and country sides were the centres of education.
3. Although primarily devoted to the study of religion and philosophy, education also encouraged intellectual and aesthetic activities including higher learning.
4. Character building and nurturing a good human being and development of personality, were the objectives of education.[8]

3.2 ADULT EDUCATION DURING THE COLONIAL PERIOD

3.2.1 Education Under the East India Company

A new era began in Indian education at the beginning of 17th Century with the advent of European traders to India. Notable among these traders were the British, the Dutch and the French. However, with the passage of time it was the British who would consolidate their powerbase in India and govern India until 1947. The East India Company, a small trading company, first obtained its charter from the British Crown in 1765 to establish regular trade and commerce in India and maintain garrisons to consolidate British authority in that country.

During the period 1765-1813, the East India Company took no interest in the education of the people. It was afraid of educating Indians because educated Indians were viewed as a threat to the company rule in India. However, in 1813, the company allocated an amount of Rs 100,000 per year to be spent for encouragement of literature and promotion of science and technology among the learned Indians. With the East India Company extending its powerbase, more people were needed to take up lower level administrative jobs in the service sector. Bringing people from Europe (England) to fill up low level clerical jobs seemed uneconomical and inconvenient. Therefore, the British Educational Policy on India, as outlined by Lord MacCauley in the British Parliament was that "we (the British) want a class of persons Indian in blood and color, but English in taste, in opinion, in morals, and in intellect." In 1835, in line with the British policy, Lord William Bentinck's government issued a proclamation on education which stated that:

> The great object of British government would henceforth be the promotion of European literatures and science through the medium of English and that government funds appropriate for the purpose of education would be best employed on English education alone.[9]

This proclamation had far reaching consequences. It divided the Indian community vertically into two different classes - the English speaking elite class and the non-English speaking mass. Adult education had to deal primarily with this non-English speaking under-privileged mass.

The East India Company took very little interest in educating the Indian mass, let alone adult education. According to Howell: "Education in India under the British government was first ignored, then violently and successfully opposed, then conducted on a system now universally admitted to be erroneous."[10]

3.2.2 Adult Education During the British Rule in India

A new phase in Indian education started during the British rule in India. The earliest literacy figure,available in the report of William Adam in India in 1836-37, was about 6 percent.[11] Although the British had very little interest in educating the illiterate adults of India, nevertheless the emergence of night schools in England in the wake of the Industrial Revolution had an impact in India as well. Some financial grants were given to each British India province for night schools. Bordia (1973) mentions that in 1882-83, there were 134 night schools in Bombay attended by 3,919 in addition to 223 night schools attended by 4,962 in the southern division of the presidency. There were over 1,000 night schools in Bengal and

291 in Madras. The number of such night schools for adults increased to 707 in Madras, 1,082 in Bengal by 1916-17.[12] The two other significant developments during this period was the literacy classes organized by Sir M. Visveswaraya in Mysore, and the emergence of jail schools, initiated by Dr. Walker, in Agra, Bombay, central provinces, and in the Punjab. The study of Dutta (1986) records that a few voluntary organizations sprang up during the mid 19th Century to educate the illiterate adults. Among these, the Student's Literacy and Scientific Society (SLSS) was a model for voluntary organizations. It was established by the students and teachers of the Elphinstone Institutions for dissemination of knowledge through vernacular lectures, for discussion of scientific and social subjects and for publication of cheap periodicals in the vernacular languages. The society brought out in July 1849, Gyan Prakash in Gujarati... Later a Marathi monthly for women was also started.[13] Thus, in the 19th Century night schools for adults, nonformal literacy classes, newspapers and vernacular books and voluntary agencies provided informal and nonformal education to the people of India.

With the introduction of Diarchy (Government of India Act 1919) in India, popular interest in mass education increased tremendously. This popular enthusiasm for education was carefully nurtured and utilized by the dynamic leadership of Mahatma Gandhi with his unique technique of "alternating political activity with periods of constructive work"[14] directed towards the eradication of illiteracy through mass literacy campaigns. Bordia (1980) records that the net result of such activities were that Adult Education Centres were opened in several provinces by the provincial governments and by 1927 "there were 288,932 adult pupils attending 11,171 literacy classes, of which over 80,000 pupils and over 3,000 classes were in Punjab alone."[15] With the formation of popular ministries in the provinces in 1937, several states such as Assam, Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, Bombay, and Punjab evinced great interest in adult literacy and a mass movement developed.

In Orissa the visit of Dr. Frank Laubach, an American missionary, in early 1939 aroused great interest for literary work. Over 500 students were engaged in teaching literacy classes all over the province. Many voluntary bodies also took up the challenge of which the Gandhi Seva Sangh conducted 30 centres in one Thana (a unit of police jurisdiction consisting of approximately 500 villages) of the Cuttack district. The government established a provincial mass literacy committee in 1939. At one time about 1200 centres with an enrolment of 28,000 were reported to be running literacy classes. However, in 1939-40, the number of centres fell to 433 with an enrolment of 9,392 adults only.[16]

In the words of Bordia (1973), formation of popular ministries in the provinces inaugurated the most significant epoch in the pre-independent history of adult education in India. Adult education was accepted for the first time as a definite responsibility of the government and adult literacy was organized as a movement. The Central Advisory Board of Education appointed an Adult Education Committee under the Chairmanship of Dr. Syed Mahmud in 1938, who identified adult literacy as the chief plank of the adult education movement in India. The first five years of this period (1938-42) witnessed a real breakthrough in the eradication of illiteracy.[17] Between 1938-42, 100,526 adult literacy classes were held with an enrolment of 2,774,595 out of which 1,388,149 were declared literate.[18]

The adult education committee, appointed in 1938, submitted its report in 1940. In many respects the recommendations of this committee were so bold and revealing that it could be considered as a watershed in the history of adult education in India. Many of the later developments in the field of adult education, including the NAEP, could find their intellectual roots inherent in this report. The report recommended that:

1. Literacy is a movement of further education and must not be regarded as an end in itself. The primary aim of the campaign must be not merely to make adults literate, but to keep them literate by follow up activities.
2. The curriculum must be flexible and be closely related to the occupation, personal interest and socio-economic conditions and aspirations of the participants. The method of instruction must be simple, intelligible and interesting.
3. Every effort should be made to enlist the help of voluntary agencies.
4. Audio-visual aids should be used for effective adult education programs.
5. An adequate supply of trained and competent teachers is the fundamental need of adult education. Instructors must be properly trained the technique of teaching adults. Day school teachers who work as instructors in Adult Education Centres should be given special courses of training. Even normal

teacher training programs should include instructions in the technique of teaching adults.

6. Libraries are the seats of learning and could work as effective Adult Education Centres in the rural areas. Therefore, liberal library grants should be given for building libraries in the rural areas.
7. Wide expansion of adult education facilities for women and down trodden classes are an immediate imperative for social and economic development.
8. The cooperation of employees of labour and associations of workers is essential for making adult workers literate in urban areas. The question of levying access on those employers who do not make adequate provisions for the education of their employees should be seriously considered.
9. The federal government should afford generous financial assistance to provincial governments who are prepared to carry out approved schemes of adult education programs.[19]

In short, these recommendations strongly made the case for more dynamic and efficient adult education programs for eradication of illiteracy. It also recognized the need for vocational upgrading of adult participants and the value of social awareness. Various experiments conducted during the period made the workers engaged in adult education also realize that literacy had no value if it did not provide the adults general awareness and civic consciousness.[20] Thus, all three components of the later adult education programs (particularly the National Adult Education Program), namely literacy, functionality and socio-political consciousness had their roots in the adult education activities of the 1940s.

In comparison to the earlier periods, the years between 1942-47 witnessed a decline in adult education activities in all parts of India. This was caused by a variety of reasons such as: the outbreak of the Second World War (in which India was a reluctant partner), an expenditure cut in all areas of education and development, and most importantly, the intensification of the Indian National Movement in 1942. Neither did the British government have the time and resources nor the patience and enthusiasm to educate the people who had put the government to considerable troubles and had challenged the hegemony of the British Empire on Indian soil. Nevertheless, during this period (1942-47), 6,567 literacy classes were organized and over 81,000 adults were made literate of whom 14,000 were women. During this period, over 900 post literacy classes were also organized.[21] The two organizations who figured prominently in delivering and shaping adult education programs in pre-independent India were Jamia Millia a national adult education institution where "the first night school was started in 1926",[22] and the Indian Adult Education Association, a national voluntary organization of adult education, established in 1939.

In short, adult education went through a period of constraints and turmoil during this period. However, such difficulties and interruptions were expected before the beginning of a new era with independence looming large in the horizon.

3.3 ADULT EDUCATION IN POST-INDEPENDENT INDIA UNTIL 1978

3.3.1 Adult Education Between 1947-1950

The independence of India from British rule on 15th August 1947 created a great desire for rapid national development. It was felt by the Indian leaders that national reconstruction and development could only be augmented by tapping the manpower resources of the country. Massive expansion of education at all levels - elementary, secondary and tertiary - and investment in the development (advancement) of science and technology were the priorities of the national government.

At the time of independence in 1947, India had roughly a literacy figure of 15 percent. However, the post independent period witnessed a greater commitment to and awareness of adult education. A broader concept of adult education evolved during this period and the groundwork for such a new concept was laid down at the 5th National Congress of the Indian Adult Education Association, held in Rewa from December 29 - 31, 1947. A resolution was passed in the conference which recognized adult education as a necessity and urged to experiment and develop new adult education techniques in order to cope with the new socio-economic order. The resolution reads as follows:

> Now that power has passed into the hands of the people on whom we must devolve within the next few months, the responsibility for making grave decisions, the conference stresses the view that the need for adult education

> in all aspects of its programs was never greater in our land than it is today. At present, the people are confronted with new problems and difficulties and new social and moral urgencies. It is necessary, therefore, to reinterpret the function and develop further through bold experimentation, the technique of adult education as the only means of equipping the Indian people to play their part worthily in a democratic social order.[23]

This conference also unequivocally stressed that adult education was greater than literacy and literacy should not be regarded as the best or the inevitable starting point of adult education in the prevailing circumstances of the country. Adult education should aim at enabling the common man to live a richer life in all its aspects - social, economic, cultural and moral.

> While a great deal of emphasis will nationally be placed on the education of the illiterate, adult education should not confine its attention to this class [only] but should extend it to cover various forms of further or continuation education... In order to expedite the process of adult education and reinforce the appeal of the printed and spoken words, it is essential to make the fullest use as far as it is practicable of the modern media of mass communications like the radio, cinema, press, theatre, folk lores, arts, etc.[24]

In short, the conference, for the first time in post independent India, not only recognized the need for adult education and defined its scope, but also prescribed some suggestions through which future adult education programs could be organized. The proceedings and thoughts of this conference provided the foundation of a platform on which subsequent adult education policies and programs rested.

The Central Advisory Board of Education at its 14th general meeting in January 1948 declared adult education as an 'imperative' for national development. A subcommittee was appointed under the chairmanship of Mr. M.L. Saxena in order to recommend measures to pursue adult education programs. The Saxena Committee, however, in its report mentioned that:

> Although both literacy and general education form part of adult education, yet greater emphasis should be laid on general education to enable every Indian to participate effectively in the new social order.[25]

The concept of participatory general education as part of adult education was further developed by the then Education Minister, Mulana Abdul Kalam Azad, who renamed this emerging concept as Social Education. The Central Advisory Board of Education, in its 15th meeting held at Allahabad in 1949, accepted social education as the goal for the education of adults. Briefly mentioned, the concept of social education included the following:

(i) Literacy: Special importance was given to eradication of illiteracy and educating the illiterate adults.

(ii) Extension: Functional skill training for adults according to choice and regional needs.

(iii) General Education: To include civic education i.e. the rights and duties of a citizen, the need for a healthy home and family life, the value of hard work and self-reliance, creativity, recreation and leisure.

(iv) Leadership Training: For adults in order to build self-confidence and community development.

(v) Social Consciousness: Among adults in order to inculcate a spirit of social solidarity, fraternity and cooperation for planned economic development.

The first experience in adult education in independent India was gained in a pilot project called the "Etawah Pilot Project on Programs of Villagers Participation in Social and Adult Education", in 1949. Five different experiments were carried on in chronological sequence in 1949 under this project.

The first attempt to develop the concept of adult literacy in the pilot project was made in the Village Leaders Training Camp (in one of the provinces in Northern India). However, it was discovered that the young men who joined the camp were not educationally capable of teaching adults. Thus the work of teaching adults could not be undertaken. A second experimental attempt was taken soon after the first one, also in February, 1949. In this case, a group of cadets of the Social Services Training Institute, Faisabad (one of the towns in Northern India) who were on field training for 2 months were utilized to impart literacy training in a cluster of 7 villages. Seven Adult Education Centres were operating in 7 villages with one or two instructors in each centre depending on the size and population the village. A total of 176 adult learners were enrolled in 7 centres out of which some 63 were made somewhat literate. However, the work of educating adults could not be completed since the cadets had to go back to school at the end of the second month. Since no follow-up arrangements could be made due to unavailability of suitable teachers, whatever progress was recorded, at the time of the last adult lesson, did not last long. However, some important feedback emerged out of this experiment, which had a significant impact on later planning.

1. Those who impart literacy training must either be local men or must remain in the area for at least six months or more. Mobile squads of trainees or students cannot provide substantial and lasting literacy to adults.
2. If, as a national emergency, the youths of higher institutions are involved in adult literacy training, they must be available for at least a period of 6 months. Although a 6 month period did not assure permanent acquisition of literacy skills by the adult learners, nevertheless, it was the prelude to the foundation for literacy which could be strengthen by follow-up activities.
3. Teaching by one and follow-up by another teacher is not a practical proposition. It is better if the same person who provided the initial training is entrusted with the task of follow-up activities.

The third group that took up the task of adult literacy training were boys of the Higher Secondary School, Mahewa, in May 1949. These school boys (36 in number) were also given training between May 18-27, 1949 with regard to the methods of teaching literacy to adults. However, in the final analysis, when the literacy classes started on June 3rd, 1949, only 12 trainees were available for providing instruction. These trainees provided literacy education to adults between June 3, 1949 - August 15, 1949 in 12 villages. Out of a total enrolment of 310 adult learners, only 170 were made somewhat literate at the end of a period of 2 ½ months. Due to a lack of proper follow up, however, many of the adults who had attained manageable literacy skills relapsed into illiteracy.

The lessons gained out of this exercise were that:

(i) Students are not the most effective adult educators. This is partly because of their lack of proper training, and partly because their age denied them the respect of adult learners.

(ii) Periodical meetings for review of future strategies were very important to organize adult education activities.

However, with student volunteers such meetings could not be held because:

- a) students could not give any more time than they were already giving due to their own study;
- b) they were not paid for their job. So they did not have any interest or incentive for extra work.

(iii) Some form of remuneration should be paid to adult literacy instructors.

(iv) Supervision, guidance and coordination of programs were necessary.

The next group of people who were requested to take up adult education work were primary school teachers. Some 14 teachers in one community development block (an administrative area) were selected and given training in adult education teaching methods and techniques. "All of them showed enthusiasm for teaching, for remuneration, but none took up the work. On a closer analysis of the situation, it was concluded that all primary school teachers in general, and old and experienced teachers in particular were incapable of teaching adults".[26] It was found that the primary school teachers were unsuitable for such a job because:

- a) After hard mental work throughout the day in primary schools, they were not prepared to take up mental work at night.
- b) Since most of these teachers belonged to local villages and were middle class peasants, it was more profitable for them to engage and supervise farming activities in their spare time rather than working for a meagre remuneration.
- c) Many of them were unaware of adult psychology and, even if trained, could not handle adult students effectively.
- d) There was also the problem of promotion, transfer, and leave of absence of teachers which greatly jeopardized a continuing program.
- e) Older teachers were not enthusiastic about the work because they did not see any value in such adult education.
- f) Because of the caste and class system of the social fabric, many old timers opposed training of untouchable adults.

Moreover, young and devoted teachers were very difficult to find for such an endeavour.

The final group of people who were entrusted with the responsibility of teaching adults on an experimental basis, and which was an encouraging success, were committed young men from villages who had passed or read up to 7th standard and had engaged in agriculture or such other activities. This experiment was carried on in 14 villages with 14 selected adult literacy teachers. Out of a total enrolment of 379 adult learners, 226 were made literate at this time. Although data on the period of training is not available, it is believed that the classes continued between April - September, 1949.

The experience gained from this experiment was that:

a) This group of people could be suitably employed as adult education instructors, although vigilant follow up guidance and supervision were required.

b) Some form of incentive in terms of remuneration must be given to adult education teachers.

The above experiments on social education i.e. adult education made it clear that people were receptive to literacy training but that such an endeavour required the support and cooperation of the whole village population. It was also shown that committed people were required to implement adult education programs and that the use of audio visual aids such as cinemas, radios, and documentaries were of significant importance in pursuing such adult literacy education.

3.3.2 Adult Education Between 1950-1978

On January 26, 1950, India gave herself a new constitution and declared herself a Sovereign, Democratic Republic. The Constitution provided for a federal political set up with a parliamentary democracy, both at the federal and provincial level, with a clear division of powers between the federal and state legislatures. Education fell under the jurisdiction of provincial legislatures with the federal government retaining power over higher and technical education as well as policy directives on social education, while all aspects of education up to the secondary level were left to the respective provincial governments. The constitution provided that concerning some aspects of social education, higher learning and technical institutions, both the federal and provincial government share power and responsibilities. However, in the event of a difference of opinion or legislation between the federal and provincial government pertaining to any item in the concurrent list (a list of items mentioned in the Indian constitution over which both federal and provincial legislatures could make laws), it is the federal law that prevails over the provincial law which automatically becomes ultra vires to the constitution. This reflects the centripetal aspect of Indian federalism.

The significance of mentioning this constitutional provision is that with the federal government launching the first Five-year Plan (1951-56), the programs of social education were divided between the government of India and the provincial governments. At the federal government level the responsibility of implementing social education program was divided between the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Community Development.

First Five-year Plan (1951-56)

In 1951, at the time of the implementation of the first Five-year Plan (1951-56) India had a literacy rate of 16.6 percent. Further breakdown of literacy figures indicated that only 24.9 percent males and 7.9 percent females were literate.[27] In some provinces such as Rajasthan, the literacy figures were abysmally low at merely 8.9 percent.[28] However, in spite of this low literacy rate, education for adults did not constitute a priority in the first Five-year Plan. Such a statement is justified by looking at the spending on education in general and adult education in particular. For example, the projected allocation for education in the First Five-year Plan was Rs155.661 crores[29](or roughly $311 million Canadian, taking into account 1951 exchange rate of $1.00 Canadian = Rs5.00 Indian), whereas the figure for adult education was only 5 crores or $10 million Canadian. This figure suggests that allocation on social education was a meagre 3.1 percent of the total education budget.

The First Five-year Plan declared that social education was a comprehensive program of community upliftment through community action. It embodied a comprehensive approach to the solution of problem of the community through popular participation. Besides literacy it included health, recreation, and home life, economic activities and citizenship training.[30] The objective of social education was to teach the masses about the rights and duties of a citizen and to improve their productivity by some form of marketable skill training. An important aspect of social education was to teach the adults to subordinate their personal interest to the bigger interest of the community and nation. In the words of Dutta (1986):

> The First Five-year Plan envisaged that social education is a 'comprehensive program of community uplift through community action'. Its objective was to educate the common man to understand the rights and duties of a citizen, to improve his productive capacity and to enable them to lead a richer and fuller life.[31]

As mentioned earlier, the responsibility of social education was divided between the federal government and the provincial governments and at the government of India level between the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Community Development. During this First Plan Period, a budget of Rs5.0 crores (approximately $10 million Canadian in terms of 1951 currency exchange rate) was allocated for social education which was spent on literacy education, community centres, libraries and Janata Colleges (colleges for common people). In 1952 when the Community Development Program was launched, social education became a part of this broader mandate, under this new umbrella, social education included literacy training, establishment of libraries, various recreational and cultural programs, youth activities, cultural and recreational programs, radio forums, and women's welfare programs.

The syllabus for social education at the grass roots level was divided into two stages. The first stage consisted of training in the mother tongue (language reading and writing), arithmetic, health and hygiene, the principles and practices of cooperation, local crafts and handicrafts, recreation and general knowledge. The duration of this period of instruction was approximately five months. The second stage consisted of further instruction in the subjects covered in the first stage and follow up of the abilities and skills developed during that period. This stage was also for five months. Provisions were also made for testing proficiency in training obtained. Teaching learning materials, supervision and guidance was provided by the Ministry of Education in collaboration with the Ministry of Community Development.

Between 1951-56, 5.5 million adults were enrolled in adult literacy classes administered by the State Department of Education and an additional 1.2 million under the Community Development Departments. The Committee on Plan Projects in its report indicated that out of a total enrolment of 6.7 million adults 3.5 million might have attained literacy.[32] The other achievements during the First Plan period was the establishment of 83,000 community development centres (in 800 Development Blocks by the end of 1955), 53,000 youth clubs, and 454 school-cum-community centres including funding to 160 model community centres. By the close of the First Plan period a total of 32,000 village libraries had been established in order to boost adult education activities in peripheral areas.[33]

The use of mass media, particularly the use of radio for adult education, took roots in the Indian soil. The radio-forum idea which originated and was experimented in Canada during the Second World War was introduced into India under the scheme of 'Farm Forum Listening Groups' under local rural leadership. Participation of adults was ensured by group discussions immediately followed by the broadcast. According to Bordia (1973) "The Delhi University did pioneering work in the popularization of radio listening by installing a radio in almost every village. The Minister of Information and Broadcasting set up 22,000 community sets all over the country by sharing expenditures on the radio sets with the statement governments."[34]

Some important measures were taken during this period to increase the production of adult education literatures. The National Book Trust was established in order to publish inexpensive books and other literatures in all regional languages. A program of awards to best writers of books for adults was introduced in 1955 in order to encourage more suitable reading materials for adults. A significant quantity of literature was also produced by the provincial governments and non-government organizations.

The First Plan also witnessed an expansion of cooperative societies as an agency of social education. Between 1950-51 and 1955-56, the number of such societies increased from 182,000 to 241,000 with an increase in membership enrolment from 13.7 million to 17.6 million.[35]

Adult education as a field of study was also introduced at the university level for Bachelor of Education degree (at Delhi University) in 1950 in order to create a qualified manpower to undertake leadership in future adult education programs.

In short, the First Five-year Plan introduced and experimented with many new ideas in the field of adult education which later crystallized in the process of trial and error basis. However, in spite of severe budgetary limitations, this period provided a solid foundation for all future adult education activities in India.

The Second Five-year Plan (1956-61)

The Second Five-year Plan continued along the same line as the First Plan. The total allocation of funding during this plan period for social education was about 15 crores Rupees (or approximately $30 million considering 1956 currency exchange) including about 10 crores (or $20 million) for National Extension and Community Development Program.[36] In short, the allotment provided for Rs5 crores to be spent under the Department of Education and the rest Rs10 crores to be spent by the Department of Community Development. However, both were to pursue social education programs. Out of the Rs5.0 crores provided under the Department of Education, Rs45,750,000 was allocated to provincial departments of education and the rest Rs6,250,000 was to be spent by the Federal Ministry of Education. The schemes taken up by the Federal Ministry of Education and the expenditures incurred on them is listed below:

TABLE 1*

(Indian Rupees in 100,000)

Schemes Undertaken by the Federal Government Ministry of Education and the Expenditures Incurred in Each Item During the Second Five-year Plan (1956-61)

	Items	Provision	Expenditure
1.	National Fundamental Education Centre	7.60	7.01
2.	Production of Literatures for Neoliterates	16.0	11.79
3.	Assistance to Voluntary Agencies	26.0	25.12
4.	Institute of Library Science	3.0	1.28
5.	Institute for Workers Education	1.86	0.34
6.	National Book Trust	8.00	4.12
7.	Production of Literatures for Social Education Workers	0.10	0.10
	Total	62.50	49.76

* Source: Bordia, A. (1973) "Adult Education During the British Period and After Independence", In Bordia et al (Ed.) Adult Education in India, Nachiketa Publishers, Bombay, p. 28.

In the provincial sector, the allocation for social education did not achieve much since more than half the states did not utilize even 50 percent of the money allocated and the shortfalls were high in the case of states which had a higher percentage of illiteracy. The following table would show the provision and actual expenditures incurred on social education during the Second Plan period.

TABLE 2**

Financial Allocation and Expenditure of Different Provinces on Social Education] During the Second Five-year Plan, 1956-61

Numbers in 100,000s

	States (shortfall)	Literacy Percentage 1961	Provision	Expenditure	Percentage of Total Allocation Actually Spent
1.	Andhra Pradesh	20.8	21.30	15.22	28.6
2.	Assam	25.8	4.75	4.49	0.54
3.	Bihar	18.2	54.56	14.75	73.0
4.	Gujarat	30.3	12.74	9.29	27.1
5.	Jammu and Kashmir	10.7	5.80	1.98	65.8
6.	Kerala	46.2	25.20	11.89	52.8
7.	Madhya Pradesh	16.9	48.62	12.76	73.8
8.	Madras	30.2	2.37	23.36	*
9.	Maharashtra	29.7	25.50	10.51	58.8
10.	Mysore	25.3	---	4.51	*
11.	Orissa	21.5	17.37	12.02	30.8
12.	Punjab	33.6	25.50	10.64	58.3
13.	Rajasthan	14.7	37.80	8.00	78.8
14.	Uttar Pradesh	17.5	13.98	11.99	14.2
15.	West Bengal	29.1	55.65	99.40	*
Union Territories					
1.	Andaman and Nicobar Islands	---	1.00	0.46	54.0
2.	Delhi	51.0	10.06	3.97	60.5
3.	Himachal Pradesh	14.6	9.67	6.92	28.4
4.	Manipur	---	2.58	1.51	41.50
5.	Tripura	---	3.03	3.19	*
6.	Pondicherry	---	0.50	0.15	70.0
7.	Laccadive, Minicoy and Ameendivi Islands	---	1.00	0.43	57.0

* Expenditure exceeds provision

** Source: Bordia, A. (1973) "Adult Education During the British Period and After Independence", In Bordia et al (Ed.) Adult Education in India, Nachiketa Publishers, Bombay, p. 28.

Two factors contributed to such a sad state of affairs:

(i) Defective financial administration in the sense that even when the funds were available on paper, the State Finance Department did not approve of expenditure on certain items. The spending departments were not sufficiently free to work out and implement schemes even when they had been approved in principle by the sanctioning authorities.[37]

(ii) A shift in emphasis from community development to industrial development towards the end of Second Five-year Plan. While people were expected to participate in social education and development through Panchayati Raj (local self-government), the community development programs (of which Panchayati Raj was a part) were either neglected or side stepped by policy makers whose prime concerns were with increased agricultural productivity and heavy industrial growth.[38]

However, out of the Rs10 crores sanctioned under the community development programs, about Rs98,500,000 was spent on social education activities.

The blueprints of the plan clearly stated the definition and scope of social education in the following words:

> While literacy is undoubtedly important, it should be recognized that it is one element in a wider concept of social education. Social education embodies a comprehensive approach to the solution of problems of the community primarily through community action. Besides literacy, it includes health, recreation and home life, economic activities and citizenship training. The entire national extension and community development programs, social welfare extension projects, rural programs undertaken by government agencies in cooperation with the people, programs of voluntary organizations like the Sarva Seva Sangha, the Bharal-Seval Samaj and others, the cooperative movement; village panchayats etc. are all facets of the nation wide effort towards social education and rural improvement.[39]

Social education was viewed in a much broader perspective than just a literacy drive for adults. It was so ambitious and included so many developmental programs at the same time that none of the programs could be given the time, funds, and attention it needed to complete the project satisfactorily. In spite of such limitations and a slow down of the tempo due to improper financial administration and shift in emphasis from community development to industrial development, some significant steps were taken in terms of creating support services for adult education programs.

The first among such steps was the establishment of the National Fundamental Education Centre (NFEC) in 1956. The functions of NFEC included training and orientation of key adult education personnel, experimentation in preparation of reading, learning materials, conducting research and evaluation and acting as a clearing house of ideas and information in the field of adult education.[40] Although established in 1956, this institution actually started operating in March 1958 in New Delhi which provided training to district level officers for social education. Later the NFEC changed its nomenclature and became known by its present title - the Directorate of Adult Education.

Under the scheme of production of literature, the federal Ministry of Education awarded prizes to authors and organized training programs for writers in the techniques of producing literatures for the neoliterates. "The Ministry also sponsored the publication of Gyan Sarovar (2 volumes), Viswa Bharati (10 volumes), History of India, Story of Life, etc. Besides some social education literature in Hindi was purchased for supply to state governments for distribution to social education centres on a 50:50 (cost sharing) basis."[41]

Under the scheme to assist voluntary organizations working in the field of social education such as: the Mahila Mandals, youth clubs, community centres, recreation centres, etc. small grants were given by the Ministry to deserving organizations to a total of Rs2,512,000 during this plan period. The Institute of Library Science was established at Delhi University and the Institute of Workers' Education at Indore.[42] The Central Board of Workers' Education was created in 1957 with regional centres in different parts of the country with the aim "to develop stronger and more effective trade union leadership from the rank and file and to make the workers understand their roles and responsibilities in the context of the socio-economic development of the country and their own position in the society, industry and the union."[43]

A pilot project on Radio Rural Forum was launched by the government of India in collaboration with the UNESCO, covering 145 villages near Poona in Maharastra State, in

1956. The success of this pilot project led the federal government to establish a nation-wide 'All India Radio Rural Forum' expansion project starting in 1959.[44] The main objective of the pilot project was to test the radio forum idea - radio broadcasts followed by discussion among largely illiterate village adults in India. Discussion was to increase participants' knowledge and, if possible, result in decisions for improving village life. Decisions, it was hoped, would be followed by action. The expansion project was intended to spread the benefits shown during the pilot project to villages throughout India.[45]

At the end of the Second Five-year Plan there were 3,137 community development blocks through which social education was carried on under community development programs. A review of the achievements of these blocks in the area of adult education revealed that during the Second Plan period 162,000 literacy centres were established throughout the country where over 4,000,000 adults were made literate. In 1960-61, there were 43,294 adult literacy centres and in that year 740,110 adults were made literate.[46] Compared to the progress made at the provincial sector, the community development sector achieved better results in pursuing adult education.

In the state sector, achievement in social education was marginal and unimpressive. The reasons for such a scenario was discussed earlier (faulty financial administration and planning). However, there was one particular experiment, among many others, in the Province of Maharastra that is worthy of mention. This program of adult education was initiated by the Government of Maharastra and was known as the 'Gram Sikshan Mohim' which won the UNESCO award for the year 1972.

Based on an earlier experiment in the Satara District of Maharastra State in 1959, a province-wide campaign was launched in Maharastra in April 1961. The village served as the unit for promoting literacy. Motivation for it was based on the appeal to the masses to recognize illiteracy as a shame and sin which should be eradicated. Instead of imposing literacy on illiterate adults they were psychologically motivated to learn through the appeal of the cultural tradition of the village life, its local setting, local sentiments, moments of pride and glory and, most of all, the sense of belonging. Dutta (1986) gives us a picture of the process of functioning of Gram Shikshan Mohim.

> Each literacy class used to began with a prayer followed by important daily news, recapitulations of the previous lessons, and teaching of the new lesson. Stories from Ramoyana, Mahabharat and lives of great men were also narrated and at the end of the class there was community singing. The class continued for three to four months and the emphasis was laid on the ability of the neo-literate to read and write simple sentences on different topics connected with his daily life. The adult learned to count, read, and write numbers up to 100 and simple arithmetic useful for his daily social transactions. Emphasis was placed on general knowledge as well as subjects related to health, hygiene, sanitation, child welfare, agriculture, cottage industries, etc. In short, the Mohim aimed at the improvement of the individual as well as the community.[47]

The Gram Shikshan Mohim Program aimed at total eradication of illiteracy in the age group of 14 to 50. During its peak years of operation, between 1961-63, the Mohim program covered 25 districts and made 1,109 villages fully literate. The number of persons made literate was 1,008,100 (528,000 men and 480,100 women).[48]

The use of television for adult education was also introduced during the Second Plan Period. On the recommendation and collaboration of UNESCO, a pilot project on the utilization of television for education and community development was launched between December 23, 1960 and May 5, 1961. During this period 20 short programs of 30 minutes each were televised every Friday between 7:30 - 8:00p.m. on the theme "Responsibilities of Citizenship."

All told, except helping to raise the literacy figures from 16.6 percent in 1951 to 24.0 percent in 1961, the social education programs achievement was unsatisfactory. It did not have any significant impact on either rural development or the national economy. A confidential policy paper prepared by the Directorate of Adult Education for restricted exclusive circulation to educational policy advisors called the Report of the Working Group: Adult Education in the Seventh Five-Year Plan (1985-90), has clearly acknowledged the weakness of the social education programs in the Second Plan Period in the following words:

> It turned out to be a target oriented program of food production, and social education component shifted its emphasis from the development of human beings to simple provision of skills of literacy. It, therefore, did not attain the target population and literacy remained a marginal activity. Even in literacy activities there were methodological lapses. Community participation was

practically nil. There was no tie up of this program with other developmental components.[49]

Third Five-year Plan (1962-67)

The Third Five-year Plan witnessed a slow growth of adult education programs in India. Social education continued to be a main agenda in adult education with a total allocation of Rs25 crores (approximately $50 million Canada considering 1961 currency exchange rate). Out of this $50 million, about $38 million was allocated under the community development programs and roughly $10.80 million and $1.84 million were to be spent under the provincial and federal government schemes respectively. The major thrust during this plan period was literacy training given the fact that there was only a 7 percent increase in literacy between 1951-61. In spite of a call for an all India movement for abolition of illiteracy by the 'Panel on Social Education', its effects were marginal. The Chinese aggression against India in 1962 and the war with the bordering state of Pakistan in 1965, created an emergency situation where resource mobilization to defence and other related economic activities was given high priority. All developmental programs, including adult education received a serious cutback because of substantial cutbacks in the outlay as well as targets of the Third Five-year Plan. The provincial governments could not get the promised (expected) funds from the federal government and they did not have sufficient resources available to implement the various social education programs. Coupled with this, the shift of emphasis of the Planning Commission from Third to Fourth Five-year Plan and its approval of the idea of Statement Education Departments continuing pilot projects for adult literacy as an advance action for a massive program of adult education in the Fourth Plan gave a severe jolt to the social education programs which received the lowest priority during the Third Five-year Plan. However, there was a one and a half percentage increase in literacy rate between 1961 and 1966, from 24 percent to 25.5 percent. Such marginal growth in literacy percentage was, according to Bordia (1973), mainly due to the expansion of primary education rather than the contribution of adult education activities.

Two significant events occurred during the Third Plan. The first was the appointment of an Education Commission under the chairmanship of Dr. D.S. Kothari in 1964 who submitted its report in 1966. The Report of the Edmonton Commission (1964-66) was the

first comprehensive document in the history of Indian education that [clearly recognized and provided a blueprint for a 'national education policy' that] gave significant importance to adult education as a vehicle of social change and national development. The Commission issued a clarion call to augment adult education programs on a national priority basis in order to eradicate illiteracy by 1986. The Commission recommended that every effort should be made to raise the percentage of literacy to 60 percent by 1971, 80 percent by 1976 and achieve 100 percent literacy by the year 1986. This could be achieved by expanding schooling facilities for all children between the age of 6-11, providing part-time education to children between ages 11 and 14 who have missed their earlier education and putting concerted efforts to provide basic education and vocational training to adults over 15 years of age.[50]
The Commission also recommended the creation of a National Board of Adult Education, and suggested that voluntary agencies working in the field of adult education should be given financial and technical assistance.[51]

The second important event was the establishment of the (Department of Adult Education) at the university level with the expectation that their services would reach a large section of the adult population. It was also expected that these university departments would be taking a key role in research and training as well as providing leadership in the field for eradication of illiteracy. Considering this, the role of universities in adult education was expected to be threefold: (i) to provide leadership and strengthen continuing and extension education programs to reach a larger audience; (ii) to be more creative in research and training evaluation and material production etc.; (iii) to help expedite the campaign for mass literacy in both urban and rural areas.

Some other adult education activities that developed during this Plan Period were:

(i) The introduction of correspondence and evening classes for adults at the Bachelor degree level in Humanities and Commerce. Delhi University was the first to initiate the correspondence courses in 1962. In 1968 all adult education work of Delhi University was combined and put under the roof of the School of Correspondence courses and Continuing Education. Later some other universities started offering correspondence courses.

(ii) The Central Social Welfare Board took some interest in adult education. Bordia reports that between April 1953 and February 1962 the Board organized 1,633 literacy classes attended by 75,606 persons. In 1958, the Board also started a program of condensed courses under which women between the age of 20 - 36, who had some schooling could pursue their education up to the middle school or junior high standard within a period of 2 years.[52]

(iii) Steps were taken to provide basic education to army recruits who were functionally illiterate.

(iv) A large number of voluntary organizations participated in adult education activities during Third Plan Period. These organizations implemented adult education programs in peripheral and the remote countryside. Among the many organizations who took leadership and did pioneering work were: the Indian Adult Education Association, Mysore State Adult Education Council, Bombay City Social Education Committee, Bengal Service League, the Indian Council of Churches, the Ramakrishna Mission, and the Literacy House, Luknow.

In short, the overall development of adult education during the Third Plan was slow and to a great extent, dismal. Social education could not make much headway in transforming the lives of the rural people. At the end of the Third Plan the need for a massive program for literacy was felt and it was also realized that better administrative structure and more importantly, huge financial allocation was necessary. The table below will give a picture of the shrinking allocations in the First Three Plan Periods.

TABLE 3

Budgetary Allocations for Education in First Three Five-year Plans and Percentage Sanctioned for Adult Education

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(Rupees in Crores*)

	Total Expenditure	Allocation To Adult Education	Actual Expenditure	Approximate Percentage To Total
First Plan (1951-56)	153.0	5.0	5.0	3.3
Second Plan (1956-61)	273.0	15.0	4.0	1.5
Third Plan (1962-67)	597.9	25.0	3.5	0.59

* One Crore is equivalent to 10 million

** Source: Bordia, A. (1973) "Adult Education During the British Period and After Independence", In Bordia et al (Ed.) Adult Education in India, Nachiketa Publishers, Bombay, p. 29.

Fourth Five-year Plan (1968-73)

The Fourth Plan Period recognized that "widespread illiteracy is a real handicap in the way of both economic and social development and proposed to move a mass literacy movement which would help increase production, both in the factories and on the farms."[53] However, the plan envisaged a limited role for the federal government in pursuing and promoting adult education by shifting most of the responsibilities to the provincial governments. Nevertheless, the federal government, through its centrally sponsored programs, played a significant role in a large number of areas of national interest. However, the allocation of a [rather] very small budget of Rs3.47 crores (approximately $7 million Canadian) for centrally sponsored programs, had compelled the federal Ministry of Education to promote only a few selected projects such as:

(i) the Farmers' Education and Functional Literacy Program;
(ii) assistance to voluntary organizations;
(iii) the Workers Social Education Institute;
(iv) National Board of Adult Education;
(v) Directorate of Adult Education;
(vi) production of literatures for neo-literates;
(vii) development of literatures for neo-literates;
(viii) grant-in-aid to polyvalent centres.[54]

A total of about 9.0 crores (approximately $18.0 million) was allocated during this plan period for adult education which included Rs3.47 crores to be spent by the federal government projects and Rs4.8379 crores in the provincial government schemes excluding allocations to the province of Orissa, West Bengal, Jammu and Kashmir, and the centrally administered territories of Andaman and Nicobar Island and Dadra and Nagar Haveli.[55]

The blueprint of the plan with regard to adult education was very clear in its messages that adult literacy needed to be made functional and must be linked with the daily life and work of the people so that it could serve as a vehicle for rural development. It was against this background that a major program called the "Farmers' Training and Functional Literacy Program" was launched by the federal government. Ansari (1984) described this program "as a milestone in the field of adult education".[56] This program was jointly sponsored by the Minister of Education, the Ministry of Food and Agriculture and the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting in order to impart relevant education including functional literacy to the farmers in the high yielding crop areas. Taken up as a part of the Experimental World Literacy Project (EWLP), this program represented one of the first planned efforts where literacy was considered as an essential input in the improvement of agriculture.[57]

The Farmers' Training and Functional Literacy Program was administered through the provincial governments and aimed at organizing functional literacy classes and farmers training for agricultural production. The assumption was that literacy education and agricultural training would complement each other and that it would provide the much needed input for the success of agricultural production. Each district where this program was undertaken had at least 60 adult education centers with a minimum of 30 adults enrolled in each AEC. The total duration of the course was one year divided into two equal time periods of six months each. The FFLP was inaugurated in 1967-68 in three districts, on an experimental basis, one each in the province of Punjab, Uttar Prades, and Mysore. The success of this first experiment prompted the government to extend this program later to 7 districts in 1968-69 and to 15 in 1969-70. During 1970-71 some 35 additional districts were included in this program.[58]

The achievements of the FFLP were generally satisfactory and the public response to this program was positive. In some cases where unsatisfactory progress was recorded, it was found to be the fault of the bureaucrats, rather than the target population. Dutta (1986) mentions that this program had covered approximately 3 million farmers during the Fourth Plan, and about 50,000 attended the functional literacy classes under the program every year during this plan period.[59] Studies by Sahni (1971) "Farmers' Awareness of Agricultural Extension Program", Venkataiah (1977) "Impact of Farmers' Functional Literacy Program on the participants in Andhra Pradesh", and a government evaluation of the working of FFLP in Lucknow district of the province of Uttar Pradesh in 1970[60] suggested that:

(i) the FFLP was successful in providing assistance to small and underprivileged farmers in the 14-45 age group;
(ii) the farmers trained in this program had much greater knowledge about agricultural innovations;
(iii) the acquisition of functional literacy created a desire for more knowledge and activated self-learning process among the farmers;
(iv) literacy education was directly correlated with the knowledge necessary for high yielding agricultural production.

Among the other important developments during this plan period were:

1. A comparatively higher allocation of Rs1.0 crores (as against Rs2,600,000 during the second plan period) for voluntary organizations working the field of adult education. This encouraged voluntary organizations to revamp their activities.

2. A second "Workers' Social Education Institute" was established at Kanpur in 1968. The functions of this institute were to conduct literacy classes, organize women and community centres and provide recreational facilities for the worker.
3. On the recommendation of the Education Commission: 1966, the National Board of Adult Education was established in 1970. This Board aimed at coordinating the programs of adult education between the various provincial governments on the one hand and the federal government on the other. The Board also served as a liaison among the different government ministries involved in the field of adult education.
4. The Directorate of Adult Education which functions as a clearing house of ideas and information including research and material production in adult education was established in 1970. The National Fundamental Education Centre which was functioning under the National Council of Educational Training and Research (NCERT) until 1970 was transferred from the NCERT to form a new institution called the Directorate of Adult Education.
5. A new central unit was created within the Ministry of Education in order to organize and guide production of literature for the neo-literates. This unit was to promote production of literatures by organizing writers workshops and providing guidance in books and other reading material production with financial assistance available for translation work, and also by research and evaluation.
6. A new program called "Polyvalent Adult Education" was introduced during this plan period. This program was jointly sponsored by the Ministry of Education and UNESCO. It envisaged the establishment of a network of Polyvalent Adult Education Centres for pursuing integrated courses in adult education, vocational training and social education for industrial workers as well as for others who brought employment in the industrial sector.[61] The first Polyvalent Adult Education Centre was set up at Bombay in 1967 with the help provided by the Bombay City Social Education Committee. It was intended to set up four more such centres during the period of the plan.

To sum up, the achievements of adult education during the Fourth Plan Period was neither impressive nor dismal. The Report of the Education Commission, 1966 provided a new direction and a national policy on education. Adult education was recognized as a potential force for socio-economic development, for the first time after independence. The Farmers' Functional Literacy Projects laid the foundation for a more appropriate functional education program for adults in later years. The prelude to an intensive adult education program for the masses was established during this plan.

Fifth Five-year Plan (1974-79)

The Fifth five-year Plan was supposed to end in 1979. However, with a new federal government coming to power in 1977, the Plan ended prematurely in 1978 because the government wanted to introduce a new Five-year Plan reflecting its philosophies and priorities.

The Fifth Five-year Plan was a watershed in the history of adult education in India. The national government emphasizing the potential of adult education as a means of socio-economic development declared that "adult education should be linked effectively with key national tasks like elementary education, health and family planning, agricultural extension and cooperation, etc."[62] More importantly it introduced a new strategy of nonformal education to supplement and strengthen formal education and to extend educational opportunities to the disadvantaged and the underprivileged sections of the society who are often outside the formal system of education. Therefore, the educational strategy in the Fifth Plan was built on the assumption that formal and nonformal education should be correlated and integrated.

The National Policy on education declared that "the government of India is convinced that a radical reconstruction of education ... is essential for economic and cultural development of the country for national integration and for realizing the ideal of a socialistic pattern of society."[63] With this above declaration in the forefront, the plan proposed a massive expansion of the Farmers' Functional Literacy Programs, establishment of a network of libraries at the village and block level (an administrative block consisted of a population of 66,000 with as many villages warrant such a population in a contiguous geographical area) to support adult education and functional literacy programs. The plan also envisaged promoting extension education for occupational adjustment and personal enrichment through the universities and colleges, and bringing educational institutions into programs of adult education through the National Service Scheme (NSS). Youth clubs such as the "Nehru Yuvak Kendra" were viewed as a foci for informal adult education. Reading learning materials for adult education curricula as well as for neo-literates were also emphasized including stepping up library facilities for adult education.[64] However, the major thrust of the government during the Fifth Plan Period was to pursue adult education programs through nonformal means. In other words adult education was to be delivered through nonformal education. The strategy was also to correlate formal and nonformal education so that they could supplement and reinforce each other.

The reasons for trying nonformal education as a viable way to deliver education programs were manifold.

1. The failure of the formal channel to eradicate illiteracy and poverty after 27 years of independence, as was hoped by the Indian leaders, was a matter of frustration that prompted the government to look for alternatives. Although the rate of literacy had increased from 24 percent in 1961 to 29.3 percentage in 1971, in absolute terms the number of illiterates had also increased from 334 million in 1961 to 387 million in 1971.[65] In simple terms, however, this scenario suggests that higher population growth had pushed the country further backward. The literacy rate among the weaker section was also abysmally low. For example in 1971, the percentage of literacy among the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes at the countryside was only 2.4 percent.[66]
2. There was no relief from poverty either, particularly for the rural poor. In rural areas where nearly 80 percent of India's population were living (now around 65 percent) nearly 57 percent of them were below a normatively defined poverty line in 1967-68.[67]
3. Coupled with poverty and illiteracy, the high rate of dropouts also posed a serious threat. For example, according to the Report of the Education

Commission, 1966, in 1965-66 out of every 100 children who entered grade 1, only about half or less completed grade 4 and only 34 completed grade 8.[68] More than a decade later the situation was even worse. Mellbring et al (1983) have noted that out of every 100 children who entered grade 1, only about 40 completed grade 5 and only about 25 completed grade 8.[69]

4. The appeal for nonformal education as an alternative emerged because it was thought to be cost effective (low cost), need oriented, purposive, functional, and a powerful vehicle of accelerating the socio-economic and political development of the under privileged and rural poor. Nonformal education also had the potential of reaching a larger audience who needed it the most.

It is, however, important to mention that nonformal education was never a new concept in India. In fact most adult education programs in the previous plans were nonformal in nature. What was new was its reconceptualization as a strategy of development and its explicit recognition by the government as a viable means for socio-economic development. Since the Fifth Plan put high priority on nonformal education, the program was launched in 1975-76 for both out of school youths and adults as well as nonschool-going children. Government and non-government agencies and organizations, universities and colleges, youth clubs, developmental and welfare agencies, voluntary organizations and other such bodies were to join hands in order to promote nonformal education activities. Based on this newest perception "the program was launched for the 15-35 age group with the objective of providing meaningful education to young people, especially those belonging to the weaker sections of society who had been denied the benefits of formal education. The programs to be organized were to be related to the needs and aspirations of the learners, and to be based on local environmental conditions. The scheme envisaged the setting up of 100 nonformal education centres in each selected district".[70]

Since the nonformal education program was primarily intended to serve a large clientele-of-out of school youths and adults as well as nonschool-going children, the following different kinds of programs were envisaged for different clientele groups:

1. A functional literacy program for the age group 15-35, mainly through the Farmers' Functional Literacy Program.

2. A nonformal education program for 'dropouts' and 'left outs' in the age group of 6-14 through part-time education and by adopting a multiple entry system.
3. Correspondence courses for those who cannot afford to join regular schooling.
4. A satellite instructional television program for children in primary schools and for adults.
5. Nonformal education for women in 15-35 age group through the Integrated Child Development Scheme (ICDS) that aimed at promoting literacy, health and hygiene, food and nutrition, civic education and occupational and vocational skills relevant to the interest and capabilities of the participants.
6. A nonformal education program for the age group 15-25 with the objective of equalizing educational opportunities.[71]

These schemes were planned for implementation throughout the country in cooperation with the state governments and Union Territory Administrations. The program of nonformal education was conceived as a decentralized and environmentally based one. Both the content and the methods were to suit local conditions and the participants' needs. With regard to the implementation of nonformal education programs, the central Advisory Board of Education recommended that:

(i) the program for the 15-25 age group should begin in 1974-75 with one district in each of the 22 states (provinces) with federal assistance and in at least one additional district in each province with the provincial government funding;

(ii) adequate financial allocations should be provided in the provincial plans for nonformal education;

(iii) the program of nonformal education should correlate educational efforts with developmental activities in which the 15-25 age group could be meaningfully involved.[72]

The Farmers' Functional Literacy Project constituted the biggest country-wide program of nonformal education in which education was linked to development, particularly for increased food production. It was one of the three components of the Integrated Farmers' Training and Functional Literacy Programs jointly operated by the Ministries of Education, Agriculture, and Information and Broadcasting. The other two components were:

Farmers' Training and Farm Broadcasting. During the Five Plan Period, this program was intended to be linked with other developmental schemes such as: dry farming, small and marginal farming, industrial development, family planning, etc. According to government estimate, by the end of 1973-74 more than 300,000 farmers had been benefitted by the functional literacy component of the program. 150,000 farmers were enrolled in 1974-75 in the functional literacy programs. During this plan period the program spread to 107 districts by 1975 and to many more later.[73]

During the Fifth Plan Period, according to Dutta (1986), there were at least 65 schemes/programs under different ministries/departments in which a nonformal education component already existed or in which a nonformal education component could be introduced. These programs included technical and income generating skills under the Training of Youth for Social Employment (TRYSEM), Khadi and Village Industries Corporation, Industrial Training Institutes, and Krishi Vigyan Kendras (agricultural science centres).[74]

The other important developments in adult education during this plan period were:

(i) The establishment of Krishi Vigyan Kendras (agriculture science centre) with the concept of learning by doing. The basic aims of these centres were:
  a. To identify the specific needs of the local people and provide them training in order to maximize benefits from the agro-ecological assets of the area;
  b. To design courses and materials in such a way that literacy would not be a pre-requisite for admission;
  c. To use local resources in the most profitable manner.

  The first such centre was inaugurated at Pondichery under the guidance of the Tamil Nadu Agricultural University.[75]

(ii) Expansion and reinforcement of Polyvalent Adult Education Centres known as the Shramik Vidyapeeths. The objectives of Shramik Vidyapeeth was to provide integrated education and training courses for different categories of urban and industrial workers in order to promote their employment competency. This in turn would lead to increased productivity and an

> enriched life. The program in Shramik Vidyapeeth consisted of a three-tier structure of training. The first tier provided a four month course for full-time education officers who must be graduates in economics, sociology or commerce. The second tier was for selected workers who were given three months training and were then expected to organize study groups in their area of employment. The third-tier consisted of the study groups called unit level classes.[76] Most of the above mentioned institutions are still functioning with the same mandate except that they are open to all kinds of workers instead of only urban industrial workers.

In the epilogue, it could be said that in spite of a deep political turmoil and unrest (due to the declaration of a state of emergency by the Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi following the verdict of the Allahabad High Court that declared her election as unconstitutional) and even deeper socio-economic crisis, adult education as a strategy of development and national reconstruction took a firm ground in Indian soil. The development in this plan period laid the foundation for a massive experiment later in 1978 called the National Adult Education Program (NAEP).

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CHAPTER IV

OUTLINE OF THE NAEP

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4.1 NAEP: BACKGROUND

The change of government in India in March 1977 - replacing Mrs. Indira Gandhi's Congress Party with the Janata Party headed by Prime Minister, Mr. Morarjee Desai - brought a new force behind adult education programs. It was given a new life and a new dimension. The Janata Party, which came to power at the federal level with a sweeping majority, promised to build India on Gandhian principles, i.e. building the country from the grassroots level with priority for rural development, agricultural productivity, eradication of poverty, basic education and literacy for all, and providing minimum needs to the poor, land distribution, joint or collaborative farming and a host of such other socio-economic reforms that involved systematic grassroots planning, Promotion of adult education and literacy training for the illiterate and underprivileged mass was one of the important steps that the new government promised and ventured to implement.

Immediately after assuming office in March 1977, the Education Minister made a statement on the floor of parliament on April 5, that along with universalization of elementary education, the highest priority in educational planning would be accorded to adult education.[1] Subsequently, the Ministry of Education prepared a "Draft Policy Statement on Adult Education" and "An Outline of the National Program" explaining the strategy and operational details of the NAEP.[2] Both the policy statement and the outline were widely circulated for extensive consultation with educationists and adult education field workers throughout the country. After being considered in a number of forums, based on the feedback received, some modifications to these documents were incorporated in the final version. By July 1978, the program was well discussed and debated nationwide and had received the approval of the provincial governments. In the words of Bordia (1980): "Scarcely had any educational program been as widely discussed and debated in official and non-official quarters as the NAEP. The result is that there now exists virtually a national acceptance of the objectives and approach of the program."[3] By August 1978, a working group on adult education was appointed to work out the operational and financial details of the program. The National Adult Education Program was inaugurated on October 2, 1978. It aimed at the extension of educational opportunities to approximately one hundred million illiterate adults in the 15-35 age group within a period of five years beginning April 1979.

The education to be imparted under the NAEP was a package comprising acquisition of basic literacy skills, upgrading of vocational skills for more productive use of time and raising the level of social awareness of the learners. The program was primarily directed towards rural areas and even there, the priority was the coverage of women and persons belonging to scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. A variety of agencies both official and non-official, were involved to ensure success of the program. Special emphasis was given to the involvement of students and institutions of higher learning.[4]

In short, the NAEP promised a more productive life for the poor, the illiterate and the underprivileged adults through education and training, and conscientization. However, the concept of conscientization or social awareness education was neither well defined nor adequately explained. In simple terms, the planners visualized social awareness as equivalent to citizenship training or civic eduation which would make the adult learners cognizant of their rights, duties and responsibilities as citizens and facilitate functioning effectively in their day-to-day life. It included little things such as sending children to school because elementary education is free and compulsory, going to hospital when sick because treatment and medicines were supplied to patients free of charge and that interest free loans were available to small and landless farmers for agriculture by the local banks and that government officials were there to help people and such other things. The educational planners of the NAEP did not conceptualize social awareness in terms of the Freirean Concept of Conscientization which calls for a social revolution.

The aim of this adult education program was to improve the standard of living of the rural poor and the underprivileged sections of the community with emphasis on women and the untouchables as the main target groups. The primary objective was to provide basic education to the illiterate and semi-literate mass and to increase awareness among the people about their capacity for achievement and about the socio-economic realities in India. Therefore, it was to include: literacy training, training in marketable life skills, vocational upgradation, citizenship training, health education including family planning, and education through cultural activities. The NAEP also aimed at introducing science and technology in day-to-day life through radio, television and other mass communications media. The programs under the NAEP were to be carried out through nonformal means.

The initiation of the NAEP was a landmark in the history of adult education in India. It was emerged in response to the depressing socio-economic conditions of the mass of poor and illiterate people living in the rural areas. The NAEP set out to improve the socio-economic lot of these people through education and training.

Based on the Human Capital Theory of development which states that investment in Human Resources is justified and necessary for national growth and development, and accepting its corollary, the psychological deficit model which views the illiterate and semi-literate adults as deficient in information and knowledge and therefore unable to promote their own development without external help, the NAEP intended to provide functional training to the mass in order to tap the massive human resources of the country. Among the premises on which the NAEP was based, two were significant from the point of view of socio-economic development in India. The Policy Statement issued by the Federal Ministry of Education in 1978 stated first that: "illiteracy is a serious impediment to an individual's growth and the country's socio-economic progress; and secondly, that "the illiterate and the poor can rise to their own liberation through literacy dialogue, and action." The statement further elaborated that successful implementation of the program would depend on "an awareness among the participants and that they can transform their destinies (by their own efforts) and that the adult education programs will lead to an advancement of their functional capabilities for the realization of this objective.[5] In a nut-shell, the NAEP was viewed as a means to bring about fundamental change in the process of socio-economic development, from a situation in which the poor remain passive spectators to one in which they are at its centre as active participants. This aspect of development was emphasized particularly with respect to women and persons belonging to scheduled castes and scheduled tribes.[6]

The NAEP was launched in October, 1978, based on the government's Policy Statement on Adult Education and An Outline of the NAEP. While the Policy Statement delineated the conceptual framework for the NAEP, the "Outline" briefly mentioned the operational details of the NAEP including financial commitments.

4.2 NAEP: POLICY STATEMENTS OF THE GOVERNMENT

The Policy Statement of the federal government on the National Adult Education Program was presented by the Minister of Education on April 5, 1977. This document provided the blueprint for future adult education programs in India during the Sixth Plan Period. A brief account of the Policy Statement is given in order to understand the concept and philosophy behind the NAEP.

The Policy Statement recognized the educational deprivation of the adult population and resolved that educational facilities must be extended to illiterate and semi-literate adults in order to help them develop their potentiality. It also emphasized that universalization of elementary education and adult literacy are mutually interdependent. The government gave a clarion call to wage a relentless war against illiteracy in order to enable the masses to play an active role in socio-cultural and economic change for themselves and for the nation. The philosophy behind such a thought was based on the assumption that: illiteracy is an impediment to an individual's growth and country's socio-economic progress; education is not coterminus with schooling and is a lifelong process; and that "the illiterate and poor can rise to their own liberation through literacy, dialogue and action."[7]

The need of imparting literacy skills to the poor and underprivileged sections of the society such as the scheduled castes, scheduled tribes, and women was reiterated. Adult education programs were to be designed in order to instill socio-economic awareness among the learners and stress functional capabilities. In order to realize these goals adult education was "relevant to the environment and learners' needs; flexible regarding duration, time, location, instructional arrangements etc.; diversified in regard to curriculum, teaching and learning materials and methods; and systematic in all aspects or organization."[8] The statement envisaged that highest priority in adult education be given to illiterate persons with special attention to Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, and women. The government estimated that the approximate number of illiterate adults in the 15-35 age group was approximately 100 million in 1978 who were to be covered by the NAEP in the next five years. The government, therefore, intended to view the program as a mass movement.

The government statement also indicated the need for coordinated efforts by all agencies - government, voluntary, private and public sector - in order to lend support and strengthen the program. It specifically emphasized the leading role to be undertaken by voluntary agencies in this regard. It also promised to incorporate built-in mechanisms for monitoring and evaluation as well as provision for applied research. The need for post-literacy and continuing education was stated and reconfirmed. The government also pledged to provide adequate financial and administrative support for this massive program. However, it was made clear that the resources required for this ambitious program were to be jointly provided by the federal and provincial governments, local bodies, voluntary agencies and trade and industry in the public and private sectors. Funding for this program was also to be shared by the federal as well as provincial governments.

With regard to the content of the program, the statement indicated that it should comprise basic literacy, environmental and social education as well as some training in marketable life skills for those who needed it. The total number of hours to be devoted to the program by the adult participants was estimated to be approximately 300-350 hours, stretched over a period of 10 months. The document also recognized the need for providing special programs for special need groups such as: programs for rural youths to increase their employability, diversified skill training for urban workers for better productivity and to ensure their participation in the management process, special programs for employees in the public and private sectors in order to increase their efficiency and performance at the work place, and development of organizational infrastructure at the grassroots level dealing with women's issues and family life. Programs for these different categories of groups were to be provided through both formal and nonformal means involving classroom participation, correspondence, telecommunication and mass media or by the combination of all these.

The Policy Statement also suggested that implementation of the National Adult Education Program was to be decentralized. In order to affirm decentralization of operational authority, the government recognized the importance of establishing coordinating and catalizing agencies both at the federal and provincial levels. The statement declared that:

> A National Board of Adult Education has been established for this purpose by the central government and similar boards [i.e. State Boards of Adult Education] should be established at the state level. Suitable agencies should also be created at the field level for coordination and involvement of various agencies in the program.[9]

An overview of the government's "Policy Statement on the National Adult Education Program (NAEP)" would make it clear that, while the statement provided a general conceptual framework for the future adult education program in India, it contained several key points with regard to the nature and form of the program and the government's position, i.e. rationale in justifying such a massive program for national development. In order to understand the message of the "Policy Statement" in proper perspective, it is necessary to understand the bigger socio-economic and political issues behind the statement. The message of the statement would only be fully comprehensible then, when we would link these implicit "bigger issues" that were behind the Policy Statement with the issues that were stated or pledged in the actual statement. Against this background, the main thrusts of the Policy Statement were:

1. Interlinking universalization of elementary education and adult education and declaring them mutually "interdependent". The emphasis on universalization of elementary education was to reinforce the constitutional directive of providing free and compulsory education to all children under 14 years of age (Directive Principles of State Policy, Articles 36-51 of the Indian Constitution). The intention of linking primary education and adult education was to signify that youths and adults who for some reasons could not obtain elementary education would be given a second chance for basic and functional education through government funding and government initiative. Thus, the government sought to fulfil some of its voluntary constitutional obligations.
2. Viewing adult education, for the first time since independence, as a catalyst for socio-economic development. It was also recognized that illiteracy was an impediment to individual growth and national progress and that the poor and the illiterate could rise to their liberation (social, economic and political) through "literacy, dialogue and action", thereby legitimizing the Freirian concept of dialogue as a prelude to development.

3. Emphasizing adult education as a vehicle of providing marketable functional skills, particularly for the "socially deprived" i.e., the Scheduled Castes, scheduled tribes, and women.

4. Emphasizing literacy skills that were also to be relevant, flexible, diversified and systematic.

   The importance of making adult education programs relevant, flexible, diversified and systematic was not only to nullify the previously haphazard and irrelevant programs but to draw a clear guideline as not to repeat the past mistakes [again]. The main target groups were the illiterate persons in the 15-35 age group and not the semi-literate or marginally literate population. Such clear cut policy guidelines were intended to reduce the number of clientele to whom the highest priority would have to be given within the limited government resources and funding.

5. Adult education was to take the form of a mass movement. Involvement of the private sector, industry and voluntary organizations as well as nonprofit organizations was sought in order to provide a broad arena and public support for adult education programs. It was believed that pursuance of adult education programs by the governments alone would not be enough to launch a massive offensive against illiteracy without involving people from all walks of life. It was also believed that services of the educated unemployed and underemployed youths could be utilized to organize adult education programs, thereby partly solving the problem of the educated unemployed particularly in the rural areas.

6. Stressing the need for better monitoring, evaluation and follow up activities in adult education was meant to develop a more effective monitoring and evaluation system. Provision for monitoring and evaluation was intended to be built in to the NAEP.

7. Specific financial allocation was made in the budget with the government's pledge that "funds earmarked for adult education cannot be diverted". This provided the commitment of the government not to channel funds to other sectors of development or other departments. It was necessary to prevent the NAEP programs from running out of funds in the middle of the year.

8. Developing special programs for improving the skills of workers who were already employed in the labour force. Adult education was thus viewed as a "lifelong" process of learning and updating vocational and occupational skills.
9. For the first time ever, designing extensive and specific curricula for adult education extending to approximately 300-350 hours or about 10 months. This was done to legitimize the curricula of adult education and to improve the chances of success of literacy training under the NAEP. The failure of the earlier programs were largely attributed to the lack of definite curricula and time frames.

   It also spelled out different components of the program, i.e. literacy, socio-political awareness or citizenship education, and vocational training. The significance of this provision of the content was to highlight the "development" aspects of the program which intended to help develop the "whole person" as against developing a particular aspect of individual personality.

4.3 NAEP: THE GOVERNMENT OUTLINE[1]*

The "outline" was aimed at delineating the operational details for giving effect to the Policy Statement on adult education. The outline reiterated the government's position that "the objective of [the NAEP] is to organize the adult education program, with literacy as an indispensable component for approximately 100 million illiterate persons, mainly in the age group of 15-35 with a view to providing to them skills for self-directed learning, leading to self-reliant and active role in their own development and in the development of their environment."[10] The "outline" suggested phasing of the program during the Sixth Plan Period (originally planned from 1978-79 to 1983-84) and spelled out the general approach including highlighting on resource development instructional and implementing agencies, planning, administration and supervision as well as financing of the NAEP. The outline, therefore, laid down the ground rules for the functioning of the NAEP, although the government put it in a much softer tone: the outline was according to the Minister "not an attempt at laying down rigid guidelines, but rather an explanation of alternatives."[11]

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[1] *Source: NAEP: An Outline, 1978. Ministry of Education and Social Welfare, Government India, New Delhi. This section is a brief analysis of this document.

Phasing of the Program

In order to give time for preparation, the period from October 2, 1978 until the end of March 1979 was declared as the period for "intensive preparation". The preparatory work included: an attempt to increase enrolment significantly from 0.5 million in April 1978 to 1.5 million by the end of March 1979; creation of a conducive environment for the launching of the NAEP; emphasizing research and development in adult education in order to learn from past experience and thus strengthen the functioning of the NAEP; and detailed planning of the program by the expert groups including mapping out plans for each province and union territories. Establishment of the essential structures for administration and coordination of the NAEP, and identification of various agencies (both government and non-government) and officials to be involved in the program were to be sorted out during this preparatory period. Other immediate needs with regard to the implementation of the program were development of appropriate teaching/learning materials, training of field level functionaries and creating a satisfactory system of evaluation and monitoring. The government, however, indicated that action on all these areas would continue until the conclusion of the program based concurrently on appraisals, reports, research and development of the program.

The outline suggested annual phasing of the projected target as follows:

TABLE 4[2*]

Coverage Visualized in the NAEP

Year	Annual Coverage in Millions	Cumulative Coverage in Millions
1978-79	1.5	1.5
1979-80	4.5	6.0
1980-81	9.0	15.0
1981-82	18.0	33.0
1982-83	32.0	65.0
1983-84	35.0	100.0

[2*] Source: NAEP: An Outline (1978), p. 8.

With regard to the phasing of the program, the outline declared that:

> It needs to be clarified that these are effective targets, and even if a very efficient program is organized, there could be about one third wastage and the program shall have to be organized, keeping this in view.[12]

The Approach of the NAEP

The outline suggested the general approach of the program and explained the means to reach the poor and the illiterate through the NAEP. It recognized poverty and illiteracy as the two most basic problems that the country has been encountering, and visualized NAEP as the instrument to bring about fundamental socio-economic change for the illiterate and the underprivileged.

> The two most basic problems faced by our country are poverty and illiteracy... Indeed, the problem of poverty and illiteracy are two aspects of the same stupendous problem and the struggle to overcome one without at the same time waging a fight against the other is certain to result in aberrations and disappointment. For this reason, NAEP is visualized as a means to bring about a fundamental change in the process of socio-economic development; from a situation in which the poor remain passive spectators at the fringe of the development activity to being enabled to be at its centre and as active participants. The learning process involves emphasis on literacy, but not that only; it also stresses the importance of functional upgradation and of raising the level of awareness regarding their predicament among the poor and the illiterate.[13]

The NAEP was therefore, a political and social manifesto intended to ignite rapid socio-economic progress for the illiterate poor and the disadvantaged section of the society. With regard to the operational approach of the NAEP, the outline suggested that production, art and education have to be integrated in order to provide the learners a realistic and useful education in which the learner would be the centre of the learning activity. The program had to be flexible and interesting in order to motivate adult learners particularly persons belonging to the weaker sections of the community, i.e. Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, and women. The NAEP should take a "mass approach" of involving the masses in the program and must include provisions for systematic post-literacy and follow up activities. The NAEP had to be visualized as a 'mass movement' involving people from all walks of life. Proper coordination and cooperation among various development departments and agencies involved in pursuing NAEP was emphasized as a necessary condition for the success of the program. Although provincial governments were given the freedom to decide the various agencies to implement the program, it was suggested that voluntary agencies and youth organizations working in the field of community development might be given priority for implementing the program. The range of programs, the government intended to organize under the NAEP, included: "literacy with assured follow up; conventional functional literacy; functional literacy supportive of a dominant development program; literacy with learning-cum-action groups; literacy for conscientization and formation of organizations of the poor."[14]

Resource Development

The outline indicated a variety of resource bases at the federal, provincial as well as district levels. At the national level the Directorate of Adult Education (DAE) and the national level voluntary agencies such as the Indian Adult Education Association (IAEA) were to provide the leadership in resource development and dissemination, and to act as a clearing house for ideas, views, research and publications on adult education. At the provincial level, the State Resource Centre (SRC) in cooperation with the National Resource Group had to provide the leadership. The District Resource Centres were to develop resources to be used by field level functionaries at the project, block and the AEC levels. Resource development for the "masses" at the grassroots level was emphasized by conducting seminars, workshops, and symposia, in adult education and by well designed surveys to ascertain learners' needs.

Teaching/learning materials, and the training of adult education functionaries were the two important areas where immediate resource development was needed. Development of suitable teaching/learning materials for different levels of learners and translating them to various regional languages and dialects (including locally spoken language) seemed to be an emerging need but a formidable task. Similarly, development of appropriate training programs for adult education functionaries at various levels of field administration and implementation seemed to be an urgent necessity. The government, however, did not intend to establish new training institutes or research centres for this purpose and suggested to revamp the accommodation capacity and efficiency of the existing ones working in the field.[15]

Monitoring, Evaluation and Research

Without specifying details, the government "Outline" emphasized the need for monitoring, evaluation and applied research for the smooth implementation of the NAEP. The outline provided that:

> "...[monitoring, evaluation and research] must permeate the entire program and should provide feedbacks for introducing necessary correctives from time to time. It is also important to have in-built arrangements for applied and coordinated research so that the experience of the NAEP is systematically analyzed and provides guidelines for future action. The central government and state governments are naturally interested in systematic monitoring. Universities and institutions of higher education as well as SRCs will have an important role to play in evaluation and applied research. Monitoring and evaluation mechanisms should get built at district and project levels also, for it is there that the feedbacks have to be used for introduction of correctives."[16]

Instructional and Implementing Agencies

With regard to agents of instructions at the Adult Education Centre, the "outline" identified six categories of persons who could be employed as adult education instructors, i.e. school teachers, students, village youth, ex-servicemen and other retired personnel; field level government functionaries working in other development departments; and voluntary social workers. The government expected that these people would be dedicated and motivated social workers (volunteers) who would work part-time in the evening (2 to 3 hours) for a marginal honorarium of Rs50 per month (approximately $10.00 Canadian in 1978).

Both the federal as well as provincial governments were to shoulder the responsibility of implementing the NAEP. However, the provincial governments were to take the largest responsibility for the field implementation of the program, while the federal government was to formulate policy guidelines and oversee the implementation of the program. The "outline" specified that:

> Whether the program forms part of a central scheme, or is administered through any other agency, the state government will have to play a most important role. For all practical purposes it can be said that the implementation responsibility will rest squarely with the state governments... while the primary responsibility of coordination and implementation will rest with the state governments. The central government should be concerned not only with policy formulation and issue of general guidelines but should also oversee that the programs are implemented by the state governments in accordance with the policy statement.[17]

Among the non-government agencies involved in implementing adult education programs (besides government sponsored programs such as the Rural Functional Literacy Projects (RFLP), or the State Adult Education Program (SAEP) which constituted the bulk of the program), the outline emphasized giving priority to voluntary agencies and universities and colleges. It also suggested that employers in the private sectors - in business and industry - should also provide leadership in this regard by providing adult education facilities for their employees.

Planning, Administration and Supervision of the NAEP

Since an adult education program of this magnitude was to be launched by the Government of India for the first time since the country's independence in 1947, the need for concerted planning could not be overemphasized. The government recognized the need for cooperative planning and decentralization of authority in order to achieve greater efficiency and effectiveness in planning and administration of the program. Although the federal government indicated its willingness to take leadership in this regard, nevertheless, it called for an immediate establishment of administrative and coordinating agencies such as: the State Board of Adult Education and the District Board of Adult Education at the provincial and district levels respectively.

With regard to the administrative structure, the Adult Education Division within the Ministry of Education and the Directorate of Adult Education were to provide the necessary administrative support at the federal level. At the provincial level an independent Director of Adult Education and an additional Director of Adult Education under the Director to conduct and provide administrative services. At the district and project levels it would be the

District Adult Education Officer and the Project Officer respectively who would be responsible for administrative functions within their jurisdictions. The outline also suggested the creation of professional cadres for adult educators. It indicated that the present practice of placing officers from the Indian Administrative Service (IAS) and other categories in adult education is not a healthy practice and that professionally trained adult educators should take responsibility for administration and supervision of the NAEP.

Financing of the NAEP

Diversion of funding from the educational budget to other areas of development has been a common practice in Indian administration - both at the federal as well as provincial levels. The federal government however, wanted to make sure, at least this time, that the same scenario would not be repeated with the allocations of the NAEP. The "outline" suggested that "it is ... necessary to devise an arrangement under which funds earmarked for adult education cannot be so diverted,"[18] but no details were given in respect to how to achieve such a compliance. With respect to expenditure for learners the "outline" mentioned some rough approximate figures. It said that:

> It would be sage to assume that the per learner cost would not be less than Rs80. The expenditure on central and state administrations, evaluation and research, etc. would be approximately 10 percent of the total arrived at on the basis of aggregate per learner cost ... In addition... provision shall have to be made from the very beginning for follow up and continuing education of neo-literates and persons who have acquired literacy in the formal system of education. It would be reasonable to provide an amount of approximately 20 percent of the total expenditure for this purpose.[19]

International Cooperation

The "outline" also pledged to obtain international cooperation in formulating, implementing and modifying NAEP. The need for cooperation and sharing similar experiences from elsewhere were explicitly recognized. "In formulating NAEP and its implementation, cooperation should be pledged to UNESCO and other instrumentalities of international cooperation based on mutual respect and equality. However audacious the objectives of NAEP may be, we must begin humbly with a spirit to learn from those who have been harbingers in this field and from those who have developed special capabilities."[20] In short, the "outline" for the NAEP was a very ambitious document which enlisted some of the ideal conditions - mostly in theory and much less practicable in real terms - for the successful implementation of the NAEP. Many of the suggestions were idealistic and clearly euphoric. However, they provided a basic guideline to initiate the ground work of a mass literacy movement unprecedented in the history of the world.

4.4 NAEP: THE ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

For smooth and efficient implementation of the NAEP, administrative infrastructures were built at the national, provincial as well as district (an administrative unit) level.

At the national level, the National Board of Adult Education stood at the apex of the administrative structure in order to advise the government on the formulation of policies and programs on adult education and for their coordination and smooth implementation at different levels. The Board had the mandate to review the progress of adult education programs and suggest measures to improve quality and coverage of the program. The State Boards of Adult Education, a replica of its federal counterpart, were functioning in each province and they had taken the responsibility of directing and guiding adult education programs within the provincial boundaries including developing overall strategy for smooth operation of the program. At the district level, the District Adult Education Committees were set up in most districts. The District Magistrate and Collector, usually an I.A.S. (Indian Administrative Service) officer of the federal civil service, was to be in charge of the committee.

Below the District Adult Education Committees, there are District Adult Education Officer, Project Officer and supervisors respectively in an hierarchical structure. At the lowest level of the organizational structure are the Adult Education Instructors who are, in fact, instrumental in operating the venture of NAEP by delivering adult education programs to the people.

With regard to the technical and resource support for the NAEP, the Directorate of Adult Education at the federal level and the state resource centres at the provincial level were to provide essential services such as: training of personnel, preparation of curriculum and materials. Post-literacy, monitoring and evaluation etc. including acting as a clearing house of ideas and information in adult education.

Please see attached figures indicating the administrative structure and monitoring system for the Adult Education Program. While Figure 1 indicates the administrative structure of the Adult Education Program under the NAEP, Figure 2 shows the monitoring system.

FIGURE 1: ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE OF ADULT EDUCATION PROGRAM

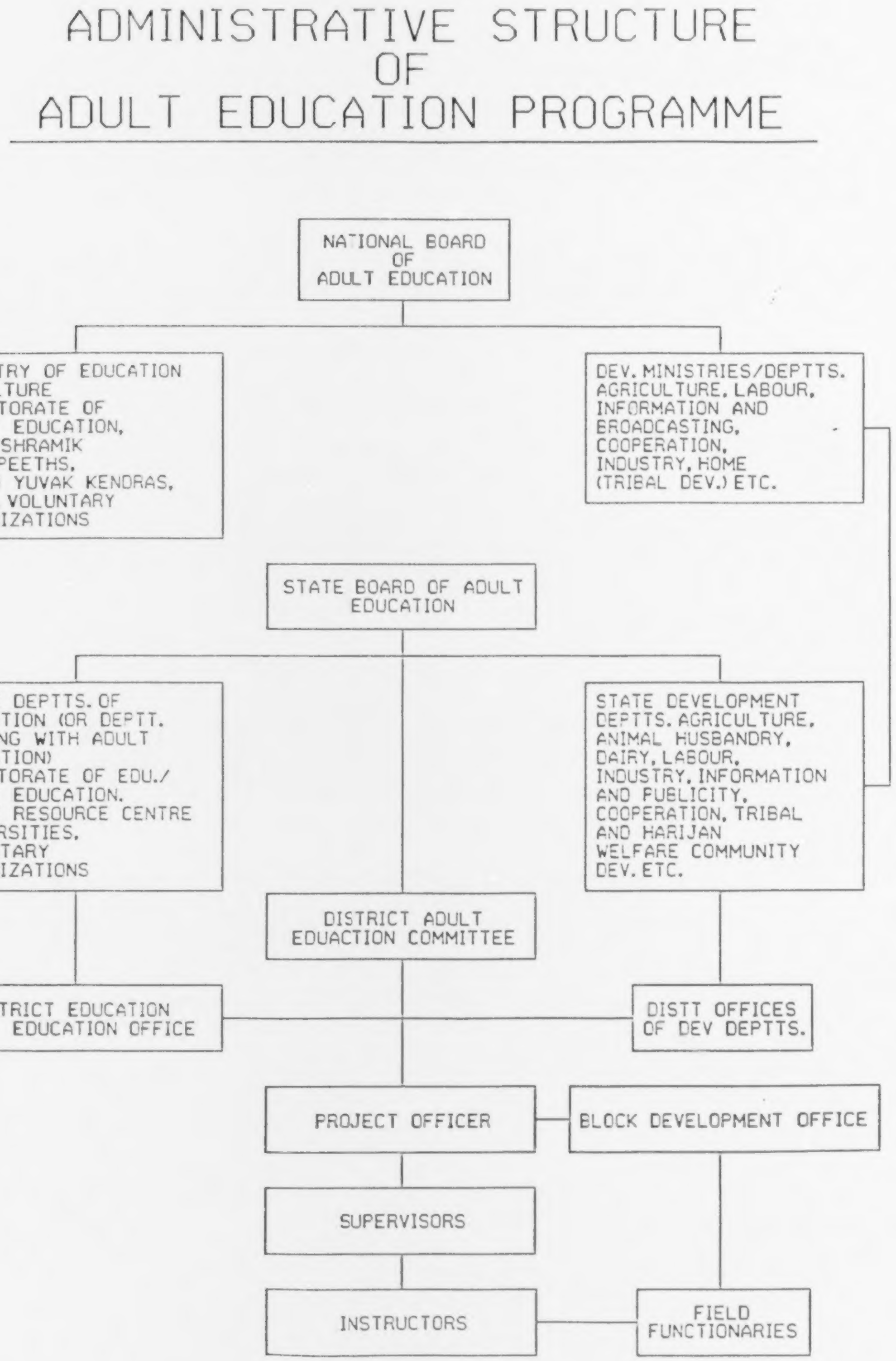
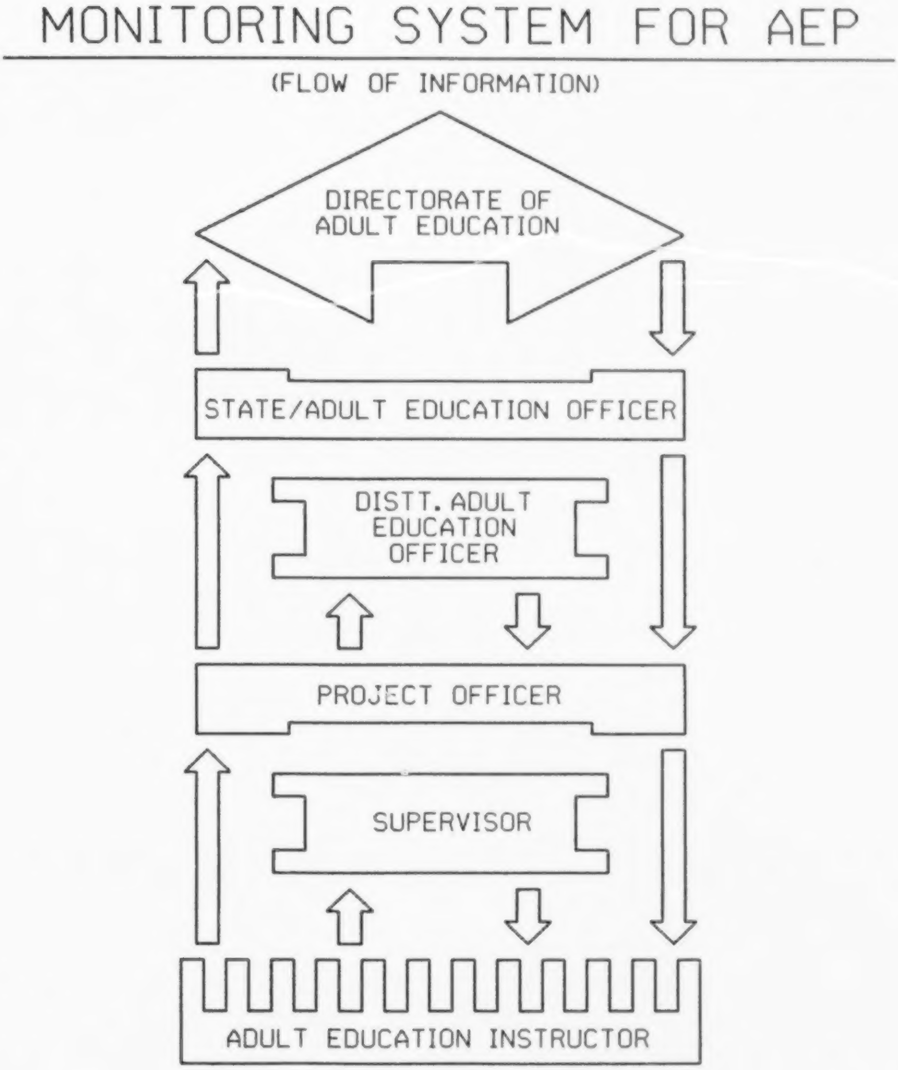

ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE OF ADULT EDUCATION PROGRAMME
NATIONAL BOARD OF ADULT EDUCATION
MINISTRY OF EDUCATION & CULTURE DIRECTORATE OF ADULT EDUCATION, U.G.C. SHRAMIK VIDYAPEETHS, NEHRU YUVAK KENDRAS, N.S.S., VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS
DEV. MINISTRIES/DEPTTS. AGRICULTURE, LABOUR, INFORMATION AND BROADCASTING, COOPERATION, INDUSTRY, HOME (TRIBAL DEV.) ETC.
STATE BOARD OF ADULT EDUCATION
STATE DEPTTS. OF EDUCATION (OR DEPTT. DEALING WITH ADULT EDUCATION) DIRECTORATE OF EDU./ ADULT EDUCATION. STATE RESOURCE CENTRE UNIVERSITIES. VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS
STATE DEVELOPMENT DEPTTS. AGRICULTURE, ANIMAL HUSBANDRY, DAIRY, LABOUR, INDUSTRY, INFORMATION AND PUBLICITY, COOPERATION, TRIBAL AND HARIJAN WELFARE COMMUNITY DEV. ETC.
DISTRICT ADULT EDUACTION COMMITTEE
DISTRICT EDUCATION ADULT EDUCATION OFFICE
DISTT OFFICES OF DEV DEPTTS.
PROJECT OFFICER
BLOCK DEVELOPMENT OFFICE
SUPERVISORS
INSTRUCTORS
FIELD FUNCTIONARIES

FIGURE 2: MONITORING SYSTEM FOR ADULT EDUCATION PROGRAM


MONITORING SYSTEM FOR AEP
(FLOW OF INFORMATION)
DIRECTORATE OF ADULT EDUCATION
STATE/ADULT EDUCATION OFFICER
DISTT. ADULT EDUCATION OFFICER
PROJECT OFFICER
SUPERVISOR
ADULT EDUCATION INSTRUCTOR

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16. *Ibid.*, p. 16.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 19.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 23.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 23-24.
20. *Op. Cit.*, p. 24.

CHAPTER V

DETAILED FUNCTIONING OF THE NAEP DURING THE PERIOD 1978-1985

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5.1 NAEP: DEVELOPMENT BETWEEN 1978-80

5.1.1 General Progress Between 1978-80

The Policy Statement of the federal government with regard to NAEP declared that for all practical purposes the year 1978-79 was the preparatory year. Federal and provincial programs under the NAEP required time, patience, and the infrastructure to develop in order to cope and implement adult education programs in such a massive scale. Therefore, data for the first two years were incomplete and insufficient. The Report of the Review Committee on NAEP (1980) also explicitly admitted this weakness by saying that: "the NAEP has run for two years: the preparatory year (1978-79) and the first year (1979-80). The data for this period is inadequate."[1]

The dearth of data can be explained in terms of the vastness of the country as well as the priorities and preferences given to the NAEP by the various provincial governments in their provincial program planning. Moreover, the nature of the programs under the NAEP and the complexities that were involved in its implementation caused special problems for the compilation of data for the country as a whole. The review committee seemed very much aware of this difficulty. It commented:

> Under the present arrangement, detailed data about educational institutions [involved in the implementation of the NAEP] takes about two years to be compiled for the country as a whole. The monitoring arrangements under the NAEP to get the data quickly have not yet become effective.[2]

However, based on the available data, the broad picture that emerged was that the total enrolment of adult learners increased from 675,000 before the NAEP in 1977-78 to an estimated 2,171,000 in the preparatory year, 1978-79. This enrolment figure of 2,171,000 was much higher than the projected figure of 1.5 million enrolment in 1978-79 under the NAEP. In 1979-80, the enrolment figures increased to 3.6 million against the projected target of 4.5 million. Also during the period 1977-78 to 1979-80 (as of January 31, 1980), the number of Adult Education Centres increased from 16,000 to 116,000 in the country as a whole. The estimated number of Adult Education Centres by March 31, 1980 was reported as 130,000 with a total enrolment capability of 3.64 million illiterate adults.[3] Please see Table on next page.

TABLE 5[1*]

Adult Education Centres and Enrolments 1977-78 TO 1979-80

Year	No. of Adult Education Centres	Enrolment
1977-78	16,000	675,000
1978-79	N/A	2,171,000
1979-80 (As of 30-6-1979)	94,000	N/A
1979-80 (As of 31-1-1980)	116,000	3,233,000
1979-80 (Estimates for 31-3-80)	130,000	3,640,000

As the primary target groups, the NAEP put special emphasis on the enrolment of women, and scheduled castes and tribes. By the end of January 31, 1980, a total of 1,153,000 women, 613,000 Scheduled Castes and 487,000 Scheduled Tribes were enrolled under the NAEP. These figures constituted 35.8 percent, 19.1 percent and 15.1 percent respectively of the total enrolment until the end of January 1980. Please see the Table 6 for enrolment of women, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes as on January 31, 1980.

[1*] Source: Report of the Review Committee on the NAEP, 1980, p. 23.

Table 6[2**]

Enrolment of Women, Scheduled Castes
and Scheduled Tribes
(As on January 31, 1980)

(Figures in 000's)

Participant Group	Enrolment	Percentage to Total
Women (All Castes & Tribes)	1,153	35.8
Scheduled Castes	613	19.1
Scheduled Tribes	487	15.1
Total	2,253	70.0

At the provincial level, there was tremendous growth, both in terms of number of Adult Education Centres as well as enrolment of adults under the adult education programs. For example, at the end of June 1979, there were a total of 27,996 Rural Functional Literacy Projects (RFLP), 19,644 State Adult Education Projects (SAEP), and 32,679 Adult Education Centres conducted by Voluntary Agencies. Moreover, 7,129 Adult Education Centres were organized by Nehru Yuvak Kendras, 3,684 centres organized by Universities, and 3,049 centres organized through the Integrated Child Development Schemes.[4] Adult Education Centres under the RFLP and SAEP increased significantly by January 31, 1980 to 38,555 and 34,626; respectively. While Adult Education Centres organized by Voluntary Agencies and Nehru Yuvak Kendras registered some decrease from 32,679 and 7,129 by the end of June 1979 to 28,567 and 4,616 respectively by the end of January 1980, Adult Education Centres managed through the universities and I.C.D.S. witnessed growth from 3,684 and 3,049 to 5,165 and 4,774 during the same period.[5]

The increase in Adult Education Centres under RFLP and State Adult Education Projects was indicative of increased enrolment as well as continued efforts of both national and provincial governments in implementing NAEP with full vigour. Increased enrolment was also registered under university initiative and under the Integrated Child Development Schemes (ICDS). The only area in which some decrease in the number of Adult Education

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[2**] Source: Report of the Review Committee on the NAEP, (1980), p. 24.

Centres (and therefore decline in enrolment) was recorded was Centres organized by the Voluntary Agencies who did not receive any government assistance. Figures indicate that while during the period June 30, 1979 to January 31, 1980, there was nearly a 20 percent increase in Adult Education Centres organized by Voluntary Agencies which received government assistance from 19,029 to 22,969, Adult Education Centres organized by Voluntary Agencies obtaining no government grants declined from 13,650 in June 1979 to 5,598 by the end of January 1980. This decline could be attributed to the fact that Voluntary Agencies receiving no government assistance found no incentive or motivation to raise money from the public while many Voluntary Agencies continued to receive government funding. Many Voluntary Agencies who were previously operating without assistance applied for government funding under the NAEP and if not awarded grants, chose to close down. Further, increased enrolment and intensified adult education programs under the RFLP and SAEP reduced pressure on Voluntary Agencies and in some cases made their services unnecessary and redundant.

No matter what caused a drop in Adult Education Centres organized by Voluntary Agencies receiving no state grants, their impact on the overall strategy of NAEP was marginal. Overall, there was a tremendous increase in Adult Education Centres throughout the length and breadth of the country between 1977-78 and January 31, 1980 from 15,842 (1977-78) to 116,000. During the same period, enrolment increased from 675,000 to 3,233,088.

Please see tables 7-11 for statistics on Adult Education Centres and enrolment between 1977-78 and 1980 in different provinces of India under the NAEP.

TABLE 7

Statement Showing Enrolment of Adults and Adult Education Centres During 1977-78 in Different Provinces

	Name of State/U.T.	No. of Centres	Enrolment		
			Male	Female	Total
1.	Andhra Pradesh	676	18,357	2,309	20,666
2.	Assam	344	7,974	2,152	10,126
3.	Bihar	120	3,293	---	3,293
4.	Gujarat	990	19,346	6,627	25,973
5.	Haryana	1,431	24,655	11,097	35,752
6.	Himachal Pradesh	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	18,207*
7.	Jammu & Kashmir	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	4,133*
8.	Karnataka	4,940	90,810	22,512	113,322
9.	Kerala	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	10,656*
10.	Madhya Pradesh	811	9,032	6,533	15,565
11.	Maharashtra	1,638	44,644	19,225	63,869
12.	Manipur	251	4,918	2,653	7,571
13.	Meghalaya	365	6,110	4,711	10,821
14.	Nagaland	210	4,839	1,783	6,622
15.	Orissa	797	16,252	2,937	19,189
16.	Punjab	624	11,348	8,934	20,282
17.	Rajasthan	1,254	17,500	7,500	25,000
18.	Sikkim	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	8,415*
19.	Tamil Nadu	3	62	1	63
20.	Tripura	859	7,473	8,024	15,497
21.	Uttar Pradesh	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	116,389*
22.	West Bengal	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	208,700*
23.	A & N Islands	21	330	241	208,700*
24.	Arunachal Pradesh	175	4,070	756	4,826
25.	Chandigarh	19	202	254	456
26.	Dadra & Nagar Haveli	4	99	19	118
27.	Delhi	101	1,040	1,525	2,565
28.	Goa, Daman & Diu	15	328	150	478
29.	Lakshadweep	20	180	130	310
30.	Mizoram	140	2,600	2,478	5,078
31.	Pondicherry	34	543	178	721
	Total	15,842+	296,005+ (72.4)	112,729+ (27.6)	675,234

* Source: Report of the Review Committee on the NAEP, 1980, pp. 108-109.

** UT: Union Territories, i.e. federally administered territories.

This data was received in connection with Rajya Sabha. Unstarred question No. 90 of 26-4-78.

+ Excludes states for which break down is not available.

Notes: The figures in parentheses show percentage to total enrolment in only those states whose sex-wise break up was available.

TABLE 8

Statement Showing Coverage of Illiterates in Different Provinces Under Adult Education Programme During 1978-79

	Name of State/Union Territory	No. of Illiterates Covered During 1978-79
1.	Andhra Pradesh	45,310
2.	Assam	38,430
3.	Bihar	33,000
4	Gujarat	301,264
5.	Haryana	68,660
6.	Himachal Pradesh	32,070
7.	Jammu & Kashmir	10,103
8.	Karnataka	172,000
9.	Kerala	77,100
10.	Madhya Pradesh	128,850
11.	Maharashtra	463,800
12.	Manipur	29,970
13.	Meghalaya	14,465
14.	Nagaland	17,700
15.	Orissa	104,252
16.	Punjab	38,100
17.	Rajasthan	95,826
18.	Sikkim	384
19.	Tamil Nadu	121,810
20.	Tripura	35,248
21.	Uttar Pradesh	158,247
22.	West Bengal	126,780
23.	A & N Islands	2,940
24.	Arunachal Pradesh	9,880
25.	Chandigarh	2,800
26.	Dadra & Nagar Haveli	992
27.	Delhi	19,320
28.	Goa, Daman & Diu	9,030
29.	Lakshadweep	312
30.	Mizoram	5,265
31.	Pondicherry	6,960
	Total	2,170,868 or say 21.71 lakhs

* Source: Report of the Review Committee on the NAEP, 1980, pp. 110-111.

TABLE 9

Statement Indicating the Number of Adult Education Centres Functioning in Different Provinces as on June 30th, 1979

States/ Union Territories	RFLP	State Govt. Project	Voluntary Agencies With/Without GOI Assistance		NYK	Universities	ICDS
Andhra Pradesh	584	330	288	214	1066	199	232
Assam	2400	4200	270	--	238	66	127
Bihar	1490	1945	1936	--	399	64	309
Gujarat	2000	711	5342	1426	226	443	43
Haryana	2089	820	190	--	81	--	100
Himachal Pradesh	715	--	60	--	410	--	48
Jammu & Kashmir	1143	231	--	--	68	--	94
Karnataka	880	--	458	6834	324	105	90
Keralal	1200	--	374	3490	378	--	122
Madhya Pradesh	3000	1300	778	170	620	88	180
Maharashtra	3314	530	3090	1224	--	465	142
Manipur	185	300	374	--	140	--	73
Meghalaya	165	178	--	--	--	--	50
Nagaland	340	200	--	--	3	--	20
Orissa	1020	1110	439	40	521	224	56
Punjab	--	--	120	--	236	38	100
Rajasthan	1369	1064	2600	--	414	--	85
Sikkim	170	254	--	2	4	--	64
Tamil Nadu	608	1421	--	43	182	--	100
Tripura	3600	--	1124	117	364	720	296
Uttar Pradesh	--	2457	1176	35	984	341	352
West Bengal	880	1825	380	--	296	845	255
A & N Islands	191	216	--	30	23	--	--
Arunachal Pradesh	60	34	--	3	4	--	--
Chandigarh	54	84	--	--	38	--	--
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	41	30	--	--	--	--	--
Delhi	241	270	--	2	109	79	100
Goa, Daman & Diu	30	--	--	--	--	--	--
Lakshadweep	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Mizoram	160	70	--	--	--	--	--
Pondicherry	67	64	30	--	39	16	--
Total	**27996**	**19644**	**19029**	**13650**	**7129**	**3684**	**3049**

* **Source:** Report of the Review Committee on the NAEP, 1980, PP. 112-114.

TABLE 10

Statement Indicating the Number of Adult Education Centres Functioning in Different Provinces as on January 31st, 1980

States/ Union Territories	RFLP	State Govt. Project	Voluntary Agencies With/Without GOI Assistance		NYK	Universities	ICDS
Andhra Pradesh	2283	558	740	--	511	440	460
Assam	2400	3630	295	--	103	396	140
Bihar	2061	2808	2120	600	271	290	490
Gujarat	2280	1080	4965	1410	83	483	--
Haryana	2242	900	134	--	54	14	320
Himachal Pradesh	452	288	20	--	410	--	48
Jammu & Kashmir	572	1205	--	--	21	--	98
Karnataka	2431	65	1040	657	140	250	180
Keralal	1221	--	352	1625	298	328	122
Madhya Pradesh	2772	1211	892	461	474	406	148
Maharashtra	4864	3840	4403	347	20	1123	262
Manipur	185	215	394	374	110	--	75
Meghalaya	--	249	--	39	--	--	85
Nagaland	340	200	--	--	--	--	80
Orissa	3253	5346	647	--	207	212	153
Punjab	61	237	60	--	348	52	100
Rajasthan	3026	2713	2506	--	4	30	70
Sikkim	456	--	--	2	317	--	60
Tamil Nadu	3600	6100	2129	43	106	668	298
Tripura	693	1009	--	--	217	--	145
Uttar Pradesh	1468	--	1367	32	171	390	394
West Bengal	880	1775	595	--	5	15	671
A & N Islands	226	--	15	--	4	--	--
Arunachal Pradesh	88	50	--	3	380	--	29
Chandigarh	--	110	--	8	70	18	--
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	291	762	205	--	--	50	189
Delhi	102	--	--	--	--	--	--
Goa, Daman & Diu	--	56	30	--	--	--	--
Lakshadweep	21	--	--	--	--	--	--
Mizoram	200	77	--	--	--	--	--
Pondicherry	87	142	60	--	33	--	46
Total	**38555**	**34626**	**22969**	**5598**	**4616**	**5165**	**4774**

Total No. of Centres: 116,302

Note: Does not include information in respect of about 2,070 centres sanctioned to 45 Voluntary Agencies (1910) and 4 Nehru Yuvak Kendras (160).

* Source: Report of the Review Committee on the NAEP, 1980, pp. 115-117.

TABLE 11

Statement Showing Enrolment in Different Provinces Under All Agencies/ Schemes of Adult Education as on January 31st, 1980

State/Union Territories	Total	Male	Female	S.C.	S.T.
Andhra Pradesh	146484	92804	53680	33210	12823
Assam	97272	67792	29480	5402	4910
Bihar	256149	176042	80107	59823	35618
Gujarat	325227	186600	138627	57099	10898
Haryana	83610	34868	48742	16607	--
Himachal Pradesh	27051	11467	15584	4632	1383
Jammu & Kashmir	42296	20133	22163	5594	--
Karnataka	131096	108919	22177	25373	6522
Kerala	126636	61469	65167	29160	7187
Madhya Pradesh	176281	126580	49701	31630	52583
Maharashtra	459299	267037	192262	76115	49638
Manipur	34908	12500	22408	471	15387
Meghalaya	9650	4733	4917	--	8328
Nagaland	16844	6761	10083	69	15575
Orissa	295041	209230	85811	82721	92527
Punjab	18320	8548	9772	3519	44
Rajasthan	223852	180930	42922	38248	20983
Sikkim	11574	5993	5581	--	--
Tamil Nadu	400092	297616	102476	79601	5550
Tripura	43425	26403	17022	9956	14897
Uttar Pradesh	130361	84519	45842	35284	12191
West Bengal	110104	60103	50001	7225	1876
Arunachal Pradesh	5646	5329	317	--	5479
A & N Islands	317	1267	172	452	--
Chandigarh	3307	1708	1599	545	617
Delhi	32862	9549	23313	7476	328
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	3163	1228	1935	15	3148
Goa, Daman & Diu	2962	1441	1521	60	--
Lakshadweep	315	315	--	--	315
Mizoram	8241	3691	4550	--	8241
Pondicherry	7436	3511	3925	2729	--
Total	**3233088**	**2080136**	**1152952**	**612737**	**487081**
Percentage to total enrolment	**100.0**	**64.3**	**35.7**	**19.0**	**15.0**

N.B.: Does not include enrolment in 2,070 Centres sanctioned to 45 Voluntary Agencies (1910) and 4 Nehru Yuvak Kendras (160). This may be roughly estimated at 62,000 (at 30 per centre). The total enrolment may thus be placed roughly at 3.3 millions.

***Source:** Report of the Review Committee on the NAEP, 1980, PP. 118-120.

5.1.2 Findings of the Review Committee

The three important components on which the NAEP was based were literacy, functionality and socio-political awareness. The government intended to give equal importance to each component. However, to its dismay, the Review Committee on the NAEP found out that the activities under the NAEP was mostly confined to literacy training ignoring the other two components including sidelining the linkage of literacy programs to development programs and scientific and technological progress. The Review Committee (1980) found out that the programs under the NAEP had largely remained confined to literacy activities. Even the literacy programs had not been as effective as they should have been due to "the absence of necessary research and the failure to develop appropriate methodologies" of adult learning. The most important aspect of the NAEP was linking adult education with development programs for real life situations. This aspect of the program was side stepped. The development content of the program was superficial and the functional components in the courses were almost nonexistent[6]. With regard to arousing awareness among the learners, the committee noted that there was generally speaking "a lack of clarity among the workers regarding the meaning and content of awareness." It also expressed dissatisfaction due to the fact that little attention was given to include content of science and technology into the program which was so important to alleviate the living standards of the people.

Another criticism by the committee was that a number of provinces such as: Assam, Himachal Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Meghalaya and Orissa, had remained almost unaffected by the NAEP. These provinces continued to provide literacy programs of the earlier type. The program, despite its intent, was, in practice, neither flexible nor diversified nor decentralized. Teaching/learning materials for a specific linguistic group, although prepared differently for men and women did not give careful attention to the diverse needs and interests of the learners thereby reducing the effectiveness of the program. The teaching/learning materials also lacked substantial input in functionality and awareness. Also, the social integration aspect of adult education to establish a rapport between the "educated" and the "illiterate" had been neglected. This linkage was intended to be achieved by persuading and employing the educated village youths and adults to "educate" the illiterates through their participation in the learning process as well as through various cultural activities. The functioning of the Adult Education Centres did not reflect this reciprocity.

With regard to the organization and administration of the NAEP, the Review Committee suggested that:

- The existing administrative machinery including the Directorate of Adult Education should be strengthened in order to be able to deal with the expanding programs under the NAEP.
- District level adult education officers and other administrative staff in all provides must be selected, keeping in view the special requirements of the job and not just bureaucratic promotions on the seniority basis from the existing rank and file. Adult education functionaries, without proper training, motivation and understanding would reduce the program to a failure. This problem must be addressed immediately.
- Administrative and financial powers remained centralized with the federal and provincial governments. Release of funds to Voluntary Agencies and state government projects usually took a long time and unnecessary delay was making the field operation of the program difficult and slow.
- The District Adult Education Officer who had an important role in implementing NAEP at the grassroots level had to be delegated adequate powers to perform his responsibilities and tasks. The incumbent of this position must be given the freedom and flexibility to mobilize the program in the best possible manner. The District Adult Education Officer (DAEO) should also be provided with adequate academic and technical support.
- The honorarium paid to adult education instructors should be reviewed and increased to a respectable level (in order to arouse interest and motivation for teaching adults). Also the significant gap between the honorarium of the instructors and the pay of the supervisors and project officers was to be reduced to an acceptable level to all parties concerned.[7]

The Review Committee noted that approximately 67 percent of Adult Education Centres were run by the provincial governments through the Department of Education. Except the Department of Social Welfare and Rural Development, the involvement of other development departments was almost nonexistent. The participation of some important institutions at the block level such as: cooperative societies and Panchayati Raj institutions was not even explored. Employers in industrial and other organized sectors of the economy were unaffected and unconcerned by the program. Even involvement of mass media in expediting and popularizing the NAEP was very marginal. It suggested that the role that could be played by schools colleges, universities and a host of other institutions and agencies, including the contributions of mass media had neither been explored nor utilized. In order for NAEP to succeed sincere efforts must be made to mobilize the entire manpower resources of the nation.

In summing up their findings the committee suggested that:

> The country [had] not yet been able to implement the constitutional directive of universal primary education; and considering the magnitude of the task, the programs of adult education have been perused at a very small scale. The literacy rate has grown at less than one percent a year while population has been growing at over two percent a year. Therefore, the objective of universal literacy has to be promoted through the twin provision of universal education for children and a massive program of adult education. Both these mutually reinforcing programs need to be pursued with determination and sustained vigour, as national programs having the involvement of the educational institutions and development agencies and with the full support of the political parties.
>
> However, the results achieved so far, though limited in scale, [were] sufficient to generate confidence in the future of a massive program of adult education. The program as presently implemented, nevertheless has several serious weaknesses and we doubt whether it could achieve its objectives unless certain radical changes are made... proper education contributes effectively to rapid economic and social development and to national integration... Effective and meaningful programs of adult education need careful planning and there is no escape from learning to organize them the hard way - through intensive and careful preparation, learning from experiences and taking reasonable risks. We recommend that persons of age 15 to 35 should be covered in the shortest time possible by a program of adult education. Nothing should be done to weaken the momentum generated in the community for the program. The NAEP should be continued, and steps taken to radically modify and strengthen the program...[8]

The Review Committee, headed by Professor D.S. Kothari, recommended a number of steps to be taken in order to radically modify and strengthen the NAEP. The reports and recommendations of the committee were largely accepted and the NAEP during the Sixth Five-year Plan was modelled according to the blueprint suggested by the Review Committee in its recommendations. In a nut-shell, the recommendations included:

> Establishment of an autonomous National Board of Adult Education; widening and deepening of the content of the program and increasing its duration; improvements in planning and implementing at all levels; and monitoring, evaluation and research.[9]

A glimpse of the findings of the Review Committee would reveal that it did a thorough investigation of the NAEP and mapped out an adult education program for the 1980's particularly during the Sixth Plan Period (1980-85). The Committee's Report, including recommendations, were largely accepted by the federal government and the following strategies were developed during the Sixth Plan Period:

1. to cover all districts with literacy rate below national level; priority to women, Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, migrant labourers and other weaker sections of the society;

2. to ensure larger participation of students in the Adult Education Program as envisaged in the 20 point program of the Prime Minister;

3. to enlist and seek the support of voluntary agencies by providing them grant-in-aids;

4. to strengthen post-literacy program in order to prevent relapse into illiteracy of the neo-literates; and

5. to utilize the modern mass media as well as traditional folk media for motivational purposes.[10]

A Note on Sixth Five-year Plan (1980-85)

The draft Sixth Five-year Plan came into effect in April 1978. The Janata Party Government, headed by Prime Minister Mr. Morarjee Desai, was in power when the NAEP came into effect. However, this government, due to internal political dissensions and factions, did not last long and collapsed in the latter part of 1979. A federal election was held in January 1980 and the Congress Party with the leadership of Mrs. Indira Gandhi came back to power with a sweeping majority. With the new government, sworn in January 1980, a new Sixth Five-year Plan (1980-85) was introduced by the government revising the previous one. This change was obvious, because of the different priorities and outlook of the new government in the planned sectors of the economy. In light of the above facts, it may not be difficult to understand why there was some confusion with regard to the duration of the Sixth Plan Period which originally started in 1978 and ended inn 1985. However, the Planning Commission of India has recorded the Sixth Plan Period from 1980 to 1985.

5.2 DEVELOPMENT DURING THE SIXTH PLAN (1980-85)

Adult education, along with elementary education, form an essential part of Minimum Needs Program (MNP) in the Sixth Five-year Plan. One of the major objectives indicated in the Minimum Needs Program was 100 percent coverage of adults in the age group 15-35 by 1990 through nonformal education.[11]

The Sixth Five-year Plan also explicitly stated that:

> Nonformal education for adults, particularly in the productive age group 15-35 years, would receive priority in the Sixth Plan, in view of its potential for immediate impact in raising the level of productivity in the economy. The programs of adult education, which had been initiated in the previous plans and which form part of the Minimum Needs Programs of elementary education would be made more effective are extended in cooperation with the other development activities and the employment agencies...[12]

5.2.1 General Outlook

According to the projections outlined by the "Expert Committee on Population Projections" set up by the Planning Commission of India in 1978, the total population in 1981 was estimated at 672 million out of whom 230.4 million were estimated to be in the age group of 15-35. In view of the increase in total population revealed by the 1981 Census over the projected figures a little higher figure of 235 million had been assumed for the age group 15-35 by the federal government. The government's estimate was that in 1981 out of this 235 million people in the age group of 15-35, 119.3 million were literate and 115.7 million were illiterate. It was assumed by the government that nearly 5-6 million adults in the 15-35 age group were made literate between 1971-81 through various adult education programs including NAEP, thus reducing the total number of illiterates to approximately 110 million.

The revised government plan projected that adult education programs under the NAEP were to cover approximately 109 million adults in the 15-35 age group during the Sixth and Seventh Five-year Plans. Keeping in view the allocations for adult education during the Sixth Plan Period (1980-85) and the need for achieving 100 percent literacy by 1990 in the 15-35 age group, the following phasing of targets were suggested. Please see Table 11 for revised targets of government in Sixth and Seventh Five-year Plans. Also see Table 12 for the suggested targets of enrolment between 1983-84 and 1980-90 for different provinces of India under the NAEP.

TABLE 12[3*]

Revised Government Plan for Phasing of Enrolment Targets During the Sixth Five-year Plan (1980-85) and Seventh Five-year Plan (1985-90)

Sixth Five-year Plan			Seventh Five-year Plan	
Year	Enrolment in Millions		Year	Enrolment in Millions
1980-81	2.6	(actual)	1985-86	11.5
1981-82	3.1	(actual)	1986-87	14.0
1982-83	4.3	(actual)	1987-88	17.0
1983-84	5.0		1988-89	20.5
1984-85	6.5		1989-90	24.5
Total	21.5		Total	87.5

[3*] Source: Adult Education Program: Policy Perspective and Strategies for Implementation (1984), Ministry of Education and Culture, Government of India, p. 3.

TABLE 13[4*]

Suggested Target of Enrolment: 1983-84 to 1989-90

(Figures in '000)

State/Union Territory	1983-84	1984-85	1985-86	1986-87	1987-88	1988-89	1989-90
1. Andhra Pradesh	450	700	1000	1500	1800	2200	2500
2. Assam	300	400	450	460	450	450	500
3. Bihar	650	900	1200	1600	2400	3000	4000
4. Gujarat	350	450	600	700	800	800	800
5. Haryana	175	225	300	300	300	300	300
6. Himachal Pradesh	40	50	70	80	90	110	120
7. Jammu & Kashmir	125	150	160	170	180	190	200
8. Karnataka	380	500	600	700	800	900	1200
9. Kerala	120	150	200	200	200	200	200
10. Madhya Pradesh	525	750	900	1100	2000	2000	2500
11. Maharashtra	500	650	800	1800	1200	1200	1200
12. Manipur	75	80	--	--	--	--	--
13. Meghalaya	40	40	40	40	20	20	20
14. Nagaland	40	60	--	--	--	--	--
15. Orissa	260	400	575	700	1200	1200	1500
16. Punjab	125	175	250	300	400	400	500
17. Rajasthan	500	650	750	900	1200	1200	1500
18. Sikkim	25	40	5	5	5	5	5
19. Tamil Nadu	425	550	700	900	1200	1200	1200
20. Tripura	50	50	10	10	10	10	10
21. Uttar Pradesh	800	1300	2000	2500	3500	3500	4000
22. West Bengal	450	600	800	1000	1500	1500	1800
23. A & N Islands	3	5	2	2	2	2	2
24. Arunachal Pradesh	20	25	15	15	15	15	15
25. Chandigarh	5	6	3	3	3	3	3
26. D & N Haveli	45	54	60	60	60	60	60
27. Delhi	8	10	20	20	25	25	25
28. Goa, Daman & Diu	2	2	--	--	--	--	--
29. Mizoram	10	10	5	5	5	5	5
31. Pondicherry	15	15	10	10	10	10	10
Total	6516	9000	11528	14073	17148	20448	24478

[4*] Source: Adult Education Program: Policy Perspective and Strategies for Implementation, (1984), Ministry of Education and Culture, Government of India, p. 34-35.

5.2.2 Achievement of the NAEP Under Different Projects

The NAEP was implemented through different projects/programs sponsored and funded by either the federal government or the provincial governments. Non-government organizations such as Voluntary Agencies also took a leading role in promoting adult education programs under the NAEP. It was carried out under eight different projects/programs. The achievement of the NAEP under these projects/programs are discussed below.

1. Rural Functional Literacy Program (RFLP)

This was the major federally sponsored scheme under which 100 percent funding was provided to all provincial governments as well as to all centrally administered Union Territories. During 1978, the schemes of Farmer's Functional Literacy, the Kisan Sakshrata Yojna and the nonformal education for the age group 15-35 were amalgamated and renamed as Rural Functional Literacy Projects.[13]

The RFLP scheme aimed at setting up adult education projects in up to 300 adult education centres covering one or two contiguous development blocks (a development is an administrative unit under the District Administration comprising a number of villages in a contiguous area with a population of at least 66,000) in case of provinces, and up to 100 Adult Education Centres in case of Union Territories and hilly areas of the provinces. The objective was to cover gradually all districts in the country with at least one RFLP. Each centre under the RFLP was to enrol at least 30 adults. At the end of March 1984, 70,285 Centres were functioning with an enrolment of 2,096,528 adult learners.[14] However, at the end of December 1984, these figures increased to 78,891 Centres with an enrolment of 2.39 million.[15]

2. State Adult Education Program (SAEP)

This was one of the more important schemes under the NAEP in which provincial governments were involved in taking leadership in adult education in their respective provinces. Under the SAEP (State Adult Education Program) efforts were made to expedite the coverage of adults through schemes funded by the provincial governments. The schemes under the SAEP were 100 percent funded by the provincial governments. Priority was given to the participation and involvement of women, Scheduled castes and Scheduled Tribes and other backward and underprivileged sections of the society. As of December 31, 1984 a total of 64,485 state adult education centres were functioning with an enrolment of 1,927,389 adult learners throughout the country.[16]

3. Adult Education Through Voluntary Agencies

Voluntary agencies occupied a pivotal role in educating adults under the NAEP. In order to ensure greater participation of voluntary organizations, the federal scheme of assistance to voluntary agencies was revived in April 1982. Under this newly developed scheme registered voluntary agencies were allocated grants by the government of India in order to undertake projects of functional literacy, post literacy, resource development, publications, coordinating seminars, workshops, etc. Grants were usually sanctioned on project basis at the rate of 100 percent on program cost and 75 percent on administrative cost for field projects. For publications, seminars, workshops, etc. the grant was limited to 50 percent for publications and 75 percent for seminars, symposia, etc.[17]

In 1982-83 there was a total of 257 voluntary agencies organizing adult education programs in 10,845 Centres and were granted a total of Rs19,817,000.[18] At the end of December 1984, a total of 178,950 adult learners were enrolled by voluntary agencies.[19] According to Dutta (1986) in 1984-85 over 500 voluntary agencies were organizing 26,545 adult education centres throughout the length and breadth of the country. The grant awarded these centres totalled Rs57.24 million.[20]

However, figures indicated by the government in Adult Education Program (1984) under "Target of Enrolnent for Voluntary Agencies Under the Scheme of Assistance, 1984-85" recorded that in 1984-85 a total of 300 voluntary agencies received government funding and they organized 11,685 adult education centres with an expected enrolment of 341,550 adult learners.[21] Attached please see tables indicating targets of enrolment for voluntary agencies in 1984-85 and the statement showing grants approved to voluntary agencies in different provinces during 1983-84.

TABLE 14[5*]

Statement Showing Statewise Break-up of Grants Approved to Voluntary Agencies Under the "Scheme of Assistance in Voluntary Agencies Working in the Field of Adult Education" During 1983-84

	State/Union Territory	No. of VAs Approved	No. of AECs Approved	Amount of Grant Approved
1.	Andhra Pradesh	8	290	5.94
2.	Assam	15	580	9.62
3.	Bihar	12	900	16.33
4.	Gujarat	47	2190	41.43
5.	Haryana	8	230	5.11
6.	Karnataka	6	240	3.90
7.	Maharashtra	54	1650	27.02
8.	Manipur	1	100	2.45
9.	Orissa	25	765	12.86
10.	Rajasthan	8	400	9.09
11.	Tamil Nadu	41	1800	29.82
12.	Uttar Pradesh	27	1020	19.13
13.	West Bengal	6	490	9.37
14.	Delhi	5	160	5.61
15.	Goa, Daman & Diu	1	30	0.49
	Total	257	10845	198.17

[5*] Source: Adult Education Program: Policy Perspective and Strategies for Implementation, (1984), p. 44.

TABLE 15[6*]

Target of Enrolment for Voluntary Agencies Under the Scheme of Assistance to Voluntary Agencies 1984-85

	State/Union Territory	No. of Agencies Approved	No. of Centres Approved	Expected Enrolment
1.	Andhra Pradesh	9	735	22,050
2.	Assam	13	400	12,000
3.	Bihar	20	700	22,000
4.	Gujarat	45	1900	57,000
5.	Haryana	4	235	7,050
6.	Karnataka	20	600	8,000
7.	Maharashtra	60	1900	57,000
8.	Orissa	20	660	19,800
9.	Punjab	2	60	1,800
10.	Rajasthan	20	800	24,000
11.	Tamil Nadu	45	2000	60,000
12.	Uttar Pradesh	30	1000	30,000
13.	West Bengal	8	500	15,000
14.	Delhi	4	165	4,950
15.	Goa	1	30	900
	Total	300	11,685	341,550

4. Adult Education Program Through Students and Youths

In accordance with the federal government's 20 point program for national development, of which adult education was an integral part, the University Grants Commission (UGC) embarked upon an active involvement of universities and colleges all over the country in adult education programs. The UGC had set aside a budget of approximately Rs135 million in order to provide 100 percent financial assistance to the colleges and universities up to March 31, 1991.

India has a huge complex of 146 recognized universities and approximately 4,500 affiliated colleges.[22] The UGC decided to implement the adult education program through the universities and colleges in two distinct phases. The first phase was to cover the period ending March 31, 1985 during which time all affiliated colleges and universities were expected altogether to organize 15,000 to 20,000 Adult Education Centres. In the second phase, beginning April 1st, 1985 and ending March 31, 1990, all universities and colleges were to be involved in the adult education program and help opening and running at least 50,000 Adult Education Centres throughout the country.

[6*] Source: Adult Education Program: Policy Perspective and Strategies for Implementation (1984), p. 45.

It was believed that involvement of institutions of higher learner in adult education programs would bring teachers and students - the white collar people and the elites - in close contact with the common people and their struggle for a better life, thus creating an awareness for social change.

In conjunction with adult education programs, another important mission was to spread universal elementary education to non-school-going children and the dropouts, and help them enrol in primary schools or in other nonformal education Centres.

At the end of 1984, there were a total of 22,090 Adult Education Centres organized and administered by students and youths of colleges and universities. After the introduction of the NAEP in 1978 and until the end of 1985, nearly 68 universities and over 700 colleges participated in providing adult education programs to adults between the age of 15-35 and were funded by the federal government under the NAEP scheme.[23] These universities and colleges participated with or without the facility of a regular faculty of adult and continuing education and extension work.

5. Nehru Yuvak Kendras[7*]

The involvement of non-student youths in adult education programs had been secured through Nehru Yuvak Kendras. It was one of the most celebrated, and perhaps oldest, voluntary agencies in India involved in all kinds of development programs for youths including adult and community education.

During the year 1983-84, 136 Nehru Yuvak Kendras were allocated funds for organizing adult education programs through the National Service Volunteers Scheme

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[7*] Nehru Yuvak Kendras: 'Yuvak Kendra' in Hindi language signifies a "youth centre". "Nehru Yuvak Kendra" means the youth organization named after the first Prime Minister of India, the late Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

(NSVS). During this period the Nehru Yuvak Kendras organized approximately 2500 Adult Education Centres with a total enrolment of 70,000 learners.[24]

The Chetna Sanghs which were created to serve the rural disadvantaged youths and women in the countryside were also organized by the Nehru-Yuvak Kendras. During the heyday of the NAEP these Chetna Sanghs showed considerable promise in organizing and delivering adult education activities emphasizing socio-political awareness among the adult learners.

6. Nonformal Adult Education for Women and Girls

Adult education programs under the NAEP laid special emphasis on women's education and women's participation in their own socio-economic development. It was necessary to give special attention to women and girls because of the fact that only 24.82 percent of women were literate in 1981 compared to 46.89 percent of men according to 1981 Census of India Report.[25] Women living in rural areas were at a disadvantage when compared with women living in urban areas. Dighe (1985) for example reports that out of the 264 million women in 1971, 214 million lived in rural areas. While the rate of literacy among the 50 million urban females was 41.9 percent, it was only 12.9 percent among the 214 million rural women.[26]

In view of the above mentioned scenario, education of women became a priority for the national government. In addition to the coverage under the NAEP, the federal government initiated a special project called "Nonformal Education for Women and Girls" in collaboration with the UNICEF (United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund) as part of the ongoing adult education program, albeit concurrently. The primary objectives of this project was to strengthen and provide education for better family life in general, and training to mothers about Child Care in particular. The main highlights of the project were:

> Development of visual literatures and other materials on various topics related to mother and child care; producing materials on the use of teaching-learning materials by the functionaries involved in this project at different levels and providing a helping hand to state resource centres and the Department of Adult Education in the provinces where these materials are non-regularly produced; providing child care facilities at various Adult Education Centres for women learners' and organization and coordination of research and evaluation activities to determine the impact of child care centres on the

achievement of the adult learners as well as the benefits of child care centres in the overall strategy of adult education programs.[27]

This project was started in 1982-83 and by 1984-85, 3,857 child care centres were functioning throughout the country with government grants.

7. Shramik Vidya Peeths[8*]

These institutions were established in order to provide integrated education to urban and industrial workers. The program was designed to raise the productivity of workers in the industrial sector by providing vocational training and education according to the needs and interests of the learners/workers and members of their families. In short, the Shramik Vidya Peeths were the centres of continuing nonformal education for urban workers, both in the private and public sectors, aiming at achieving the three main components of the NAEP namely literacy, functionality and awareness.

First established in 1967, these institutions quickly gained support and clientele all over the country. At the end of 1984, there were 40 Shramik Vidya Peeths in major industrial cities of India organizing 2,500 Adult Education Centres benefitting approximately 63,000 workers and their families.[28]

8. Functional Literacy for Adult Women

This program was aimed at providing literacy skills along with training in health care and child welfare to rural and urban women under the Integrated Child Development Services (ICDS) scheme. The main objectives of this program were to provide education in the areas of health and hygiene, food and nutrition, home management and child care, civic education and vocational and occupational skills. The program was introduced in 1975 by the Ministry of Social Welfare and continued to be implemented by the same ministry during the Sixth Plan Period, 1980-85.

Under the ICDS scheme, a total of 85,137 women attended functional literacy courses during 1983-84. According to Dutta (1986): about 7,800 ICDS areas were organizing the functional literacy courses during 1984, benefitting nearly 0.4 million women."[29]

[8*] School/institution of learning for the working people.

9. Post Literacy and Follow-up Program

Relapse to illiteracy by the neoliterates was (and still is) one of the major problems of adult education in India. Therefore, one of the primary thrusts during 1982-83 was to introduce post literacy and follow-up programs in areas where regular adult education programs had been completed. It was considered essential in order to prevent neoliterates relapse into illiteracy as well as to make the neoliterates feel self-reliant. It also intended to help the neoliterates' transition into a process of continuing education easier. Funding for this program was to be provided by federal government for federally funded adult education programs, i.e. (RFLP) and by the provincial governments for the State Adult Education Program (SAEP).

The Directorate of Adult Education in New Delhi was entrusted with the responsibility of providing sample materials as well as broad guidelines in order for State Resource Centres to develop and prepare appropriate materials for their respective provinces. These materials were to be prepared with a view to be used by the adult learners who had completed the first stage (10 month period) of the adult education program.

Guidelines on monitoring of post-literacy activities were also developed by the Directorate of Adult Education and were implemented through the State Resource Centres with the help of the field administration.

5.3 PERFORMANCE OF THE NAEP: 1978-85

In a country like India implementation of a uniform kind of adult education program, for millions of people from coast to coast was not an easy task. The federal political structure, the barriers of language, culture and religion including the archaic social structure have made successful achievement of any goal target extremely difficult. With a federal political structure and a multi-party system, the two levels of governments i.e. federal and provincial were often at odds with very different priorities in their agenda. This incompatibility in political equilibrium could be multiplied if, and when, (as is the case, most of the time) there are different political parties forming government in different provinces and another political party takes control at the federal level. Language, culture, religion, caste, and economic conditions of the people, have also played a significant role in determining the fate of NAEP in India. In the following pages the actual performance of NAEP during the period 1978-85 will be highlighted as against the original goal target projected at the beginning of the program. An attempt will also be made to compare its performance against the revised goal targets of the government in 1983 under the revised Sixth Five-year Plan (1980-85). We will also discuss the factors that have contributed to the achievement and/or failure of certain aspects of the NAEP.

During the Sixth Plan Period adult education for the productive group of 15-35 was included as part of the Minimum Needs Program (MNP). The components of MNP were: elementary and adult education, rural health, rural water supply, rural roads, rural electrification, housing assistance to rural landless labour, and environmental improvement or urban slums and nutrition. The MNP was essentially a well formulated strategy for investment in human resource development. It laid down the need and urgency for providing basic social services according to nationally accepted norms within a time bound program. Under the MNP, allocations were earmarked for each of its components with strict guidelines not to channel funds from these to other development departments. Although the concept of MNP was introduced in the Fifth Five-year Plan (1973-78), nevertheless the Sixth Five-year Plan witnessed a fuller and massive expansion of the mandate of the MNP with a total allocation of Rs.5807 crores as against Rs.2607 crores in the Fifth Plan.[30]

The reason for combining elementary education with adult education as one component of MNP was the belief that universalization of primary education for children, in the age group for 6-14 and education for illiterate adults were the two side of the same coin. It was recognized by the educationist and education policy planners that heavy dropout rate (out of every 100 children enrolled in class 1 only 34 completed grade 5 as reported by the Education Commission of 1964-66. This figure remained unchanged since independence) at the elementary level has been the single most important factor that has been significantly contributing to the increasing numbers of illiterate adults every day, every month and every year. Given this scenario as the background the Sixth Five-year Plan provided that:

> Nonformal education for adults particularly in the productive age group 15-35 years would also be part of the elementary education component of the MNP. The target will be 100 percent coverage of the age group 15-35 years by 1990... An outlay of Rs.128 crores has been provided for adult education under this component...[31]

Emphasis on adult education was, however, long overdue. Its inclusion in the MNP only reinforced the commitment and the political will of the federal government to achieve significant progress in this direction. The heavy rate of dropouts at the elementary level, and the every increasing number of illiterate adults which, according to the estimate of the World Bank, would constitute 54.8 percent of world illiterate population in the age group of 15-19 by the year 2000 A.D.,[32] precipitated a willingness on the part of the leaders to recognize and address this serious problem for the first time during the Sixth Plan Period. All previous adult education initiatives were piecemeal efforts aimed at pacifying the people rather than any concerted well planned strategy such as the NAEP.

With regard to the importance and progress of the adult education programs in the Sixth Five-year Plan, the federal Ministry of Education, Government of India, in a Policy Statement in 1985 mentioned that:

> Adult education, particularly in the productive age group of 15-35, had been included as part of the Minimum Needs Program in the Sixth Plan. Nearly two lakh [200,000] Centres have been opened all over the country with a coverage of 58 lakh [580,000] population as of March 1985. The state wide distribution indicates that Maharashtra Tamil Nadu and Karnataka have registered fairly high rates of enrolment. As compared to these, Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Himachal Pradesh and West Bengal have reported rather lower enrolment under the Adult Education Program. Notwithstanding all

> these measures, the total enrolment under the Adult Education Programs at the end of Sixth Plan is approximately 2.3 Crores [23 million], which calls for strenuous efforts to ensure enrolment of the remaining 8.7 Crores [87 million] illiterates in the age group of 15-35 under functional literacy programs to achieve the objectives of removal of illiteracy in this age group by 1990.[33]

The note of optimism with regard to the success of the adult education program was a clear recognition that intensive and integrated efforts at all levels of government were to be undertaken. This was also reiterated by a secret government document called "Report of the Working Group: Adult Education in the Seventh Five-year Plan 1985-90" (1984). This unpublished printed material prepared by the Directorate of Adult Education observed that:

> The Sixth Plan included adult education as part of the Minimum Needs Program and a goal of reaching 100% literacy by 1990 was indicated in the new 20 point program accepted by the nation. In the mid-term appraisal of the Sixth Plan, it is stated that the Plan envisaged a balanced strategy of educational planning with the long range goals of making available diverse networks of facilities and programs for education, combining formal and informal modes of learning to enable all citizens to acquire literacy, numeracy, competitional skills, basic understanding of the surrounding world and functional skills of relevance in daily life and to local environment. it also emphasized that planning efforts should shift from provision and expansion of facilities in general terms, to results to be achieved and tasks to be performed with specific reference to target group population especially the socially disadvantaged. Other important objectives envisaged included development of scientific outlook, sensitization to ethical, social and cultural values which go to make an enlightened nation and program in national development... The appraisal of the implementation of the program indicated considerable progress, yet there were certain areas which required special attention in order to achieve the objectives of the Sixth Plan in full measure.[34]

In spite of this cautious optimism, achievements of adult education program during the Sixth Plan were modest, and in many ways inadequate.

However, according to the estimate of the Report of the Working Group (1984), towards the end of the Fourth-year of the Sixth Five-year Plan (1980-85) i.e. April 1984, there were as many as 386 Rural Functional Literacy Projects, 380 Voluntary Agencies and 49 universities with 13,103 Adult Education Centres actively promoting Adult Education Programs under the federal government assistance and funding.[35] In a nutshell, at the end of March 1984, there were a total of 141,094 Adult Education Centres functioning in the country under different projects and programs with a total enrolment of 4,188,051 adult learners out of whom 2,197,927 were men and 1,990,124 were women.[36]

At the end of the Sixth Five-year Plan, in spite of reasonable progress in the functioning of the NAEP, it fell far short of its mandate. Its achievement in terms of goal targets was unimpressive. The Report of the Working Group: Adult Education in the Seventh Five-year Plan (1985-90) (1984), summed together the major problems of the NAEP in the following words:

> The Program largely gave literacy skills and even the literacy attainments were very modest. On account of a lack of coordination between the education department and development agencies. The components of functionality and awareness were either missed completely or inadequately covered. The program did not provide for post-literacy services and retention of the skills acquired in the first phase of the program were not always sustained. The involvement of students and educated community remained very peripheral. Even though the priority sectors, namely, women, Schedule castes and Scheduled tribes were covered through the program, the motivational hurdles continued and the overall impact was not very encouraging. The Review Committee of the National Adult Education Program suggested that the content and quality needed to be substantially improved and in terms of quantity the program needed substantial stepping up.[37]

5.4 NAEP: PERFORMANCE AT THE PROVINCIAL LEVEL

Complete data on the progress of NAEP in different provinces were not available. This was because of the priorities given by different provincial governments to the implementation of the program in their respective provinces. The lack of clarity, lack of proper direction and operational guidelines including specific goal targets in the first several years did not provide a conducive environment for the provincial governments to compile the progress of the NAEP in their respective states on a yearly basis. The confusion with regard to which administrative organization was to keep track of the records and which organization was to control the operation of the various programs under the NAEP kept on compounding this problem. For example, whether it was the federal Ministry of Education or the State Departments of Education or the Directorate of Adult Education, or the State Resource Centres, or the State Board of Adult Education which one of these offices or all of them combined had to share power and responsibilities and hence report achievement was not clear. There was no central organization with a clear mandate to compile the progress of the adult education programs under the various programs of the NAEP (such as the Rural Functional Literacy Projects (RFLP), State Adult Education Program (SAEP), adult education through voluntary agencies etc.) and publish a comprehensive yearly report. The Directorate of Adult Education which has been the federal wing for research and development, and a clearing house of information on adult education including publications rely a lot on the provincial governments to submit reports of progress, if any, to be included in its adult education data bank. Nevertheless, available data provided us with a fairly reasonable picture of the development of NAEP between 1978-79 and 1984, in different provinces.

In 1978, India had 22 provinces and 9 centrally administered Union Territories. The 22 provinces were: Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Gujarat, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Jammu and Kashmir, Karnataka, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Manipur, Meghalaya, Nagaland, Orissa, Punjab, Rajasthan, Sikkim, Tripura, Tamil Nadu, Utter Pradesh and West Bengal. The nine Union Territories (UT) were: Arunachal Pradesh, Andaman and Nicobar Islands, Chandigarh, Dadra and Nagar Haveli, Delhi, Lakshadweep, Goa, Daman and Diu, Mizoram and Pondicherry.

The table in the following pages (please see Table 16) provide information with regard to the increase/decrease in a number of Adult Education Centres and enrolment between 1978-79 and 1984 in each province and Union Territory.

A glance at these tables would reveal that there had been tremendous increase in the number of Adult Education Centres as well as enrolment of adult learners in most provinces and Union Territories between 1978-79 and 1983-84. Only three provinces, i.e. Gujarat, Himachal Pradesh and Manipur, and one Union Territory, i.e. Goa, Daman and Diu registered a decrease in both the number of Adult Education Centres as well as enrolment of adult learners. The province of Meghalaya, while it registered an increase in the number of Adult Education Centres showed a decrease in total enrolment. While increases in the number of AECs and enrolment could easily be attributed to intensive efforts by the government and all others who were involved in implementing the NAEP, the decline in the number of AECs as well as enrolment figures in a few provinces and Union Territories was difficult to explain. In the absence of any available data it is assumed that perhaps (1) many voluntary agencies who could not obtain financial assistance from the government withdrew from sponsoring adult education programs; (2) the priorities of these provincial governments forced them to reduce the number of provincially funded State Adult Education Projects (SAEP) and hence, the number of total AECs in the province was reduced which led to lower enrolment. Also there might have been some natural disaster in these provinces (such as heavy rainfall, flood, cyclone, snow fall, drought, etc.) which are very common in India and which significantly affects human lives and living conditions. Change of government might also have an effect on the commitment of the provincial governments to adult education programs. Decline in public enthusiasm for adult education could perhaps be one of the reasons for reduced enrolment in adult education programs.

All told, the performance of the provincial governments and Union Territories in terms of enrolment figures seemed to be excellent under the revised targets of the government under the Sixth Five-year Plan. Some provinces and Union Territories such as: Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Orissa, Rajasthan, Tamil Nadu, Andaman and Nicobar Island, Chandigarh, Dadra and Nagar Haveli, and Mizoram even exceeded their goal targets for enrolment in 1983-84. Many provinces and Union Territories also achieved near 100 percent enrolment. This was, however, possible because of a realistic goal target set by the government.

TABLE 16*

Number of Adult Education Centres and Total Enrolment Under the NAEP Between 1978-79 and 1983-84 Including Figures on Increase/Decrease of Adult Education Centres and Enrolment of Adult Learners

Name of State/ Union Terr.	Nbr. of Adult Ed. Centres on June 30/79	Enrolment of Adults 1978-79	Nbr. of Centres on 31/3/84	Enrolment on 31/3/84 on 1983-84	Increase/ Decrease in Nbr. of Centres 1978-79/1984	Increase/ Decrease in Enrolment 1978-79/1984
Andhra Pradesh	2913	45310	8120	243367	5207	198057
Assam	7310	38430	7126	218134	-184	179704
Bihar	6143	33000	18132	526932	11989	493932
Gujarat	10191	301264	5874	180306	-4317	-120958
Haryana	3280	68660	4019	114499	739	45839
Himachal Pradesh	1233	32070	1059	20946	-174	-11124
Jammu & Kashmis	1536	10103	--	66369	--	56266
Karnataka	8691	172000	10659	319316	1968	147316
Kerala	5564	77100	3338	93967	-2226	16867
Madhya Pradesh	6136	128850	18052	526807	11916	397957
Maharastra	8765	463800	14186	439919	5421	23881
Manipur	1072	29970	997	27008	-75	-2962
Meghalaya	393	14465	417	8387	24	-6078
Nagaland	563	17700	600	17881	37	181
Orissa	3410	104252	5699	160820	2289	56568
Punjab	494	38,100	2447	82651	1953	44551
Rajasthan	5532	95826	10588	323754	5056	227928
Sikkim	494	384	634	12884	140	1250

TABLE 16* (cont'd)

Number of Adult Education Centres and Total Enrolment Under the NAEP Between1978-79 and 1983-84 Including Figures on Increase/Decrease of Adult Education Centres and Enrolment of Adult Learners

Name of State/ Union Territory	Nbr. of Adult Ed. Centres on June 30/79	Enrolment of Adults 1978-79	Nbr. of Centres on 31/3/84	Enrolment on 31/3/84 on 1988-84	Increase/ Decrease in Nbr. of Centres 1978-79/1984	Increase/ Decrease in Enrolment 1978-79/1984
Tripura	2274	35248	1660	37152	-614	1904
Tamil Nadu	6221	121810	17873	567802	11652	445992
Uttar Pradesh	5345	158247	18056	537554	12711	379307
West Bengal	4481	126780	15458	408234	10977	281454
Arunachal Pradesh	460	9880	698	18550	238	8670
Andaman & Nicobar Islands	101	2940	194	3774	93	834
Chandigarh	176	2800	327	6827	151	4027
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	82	992	66	2000	-16	1008
Delhi	801	19320	1570	43956	769	24636
Lakshadweep	30	312	37	544	7	232
Goa, Daman, & Diu	22	9030	75	1255	53	-7775
Mizoram	230	5265	500	13097	270	7832
Pondicherry	216	6960	891	17924	675	10964

* Source: (i) Report of the Review Committee on the NAEP, 1980, PP. 110-120.
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CHAPTER VI

ORISSA: A CASE STUDY

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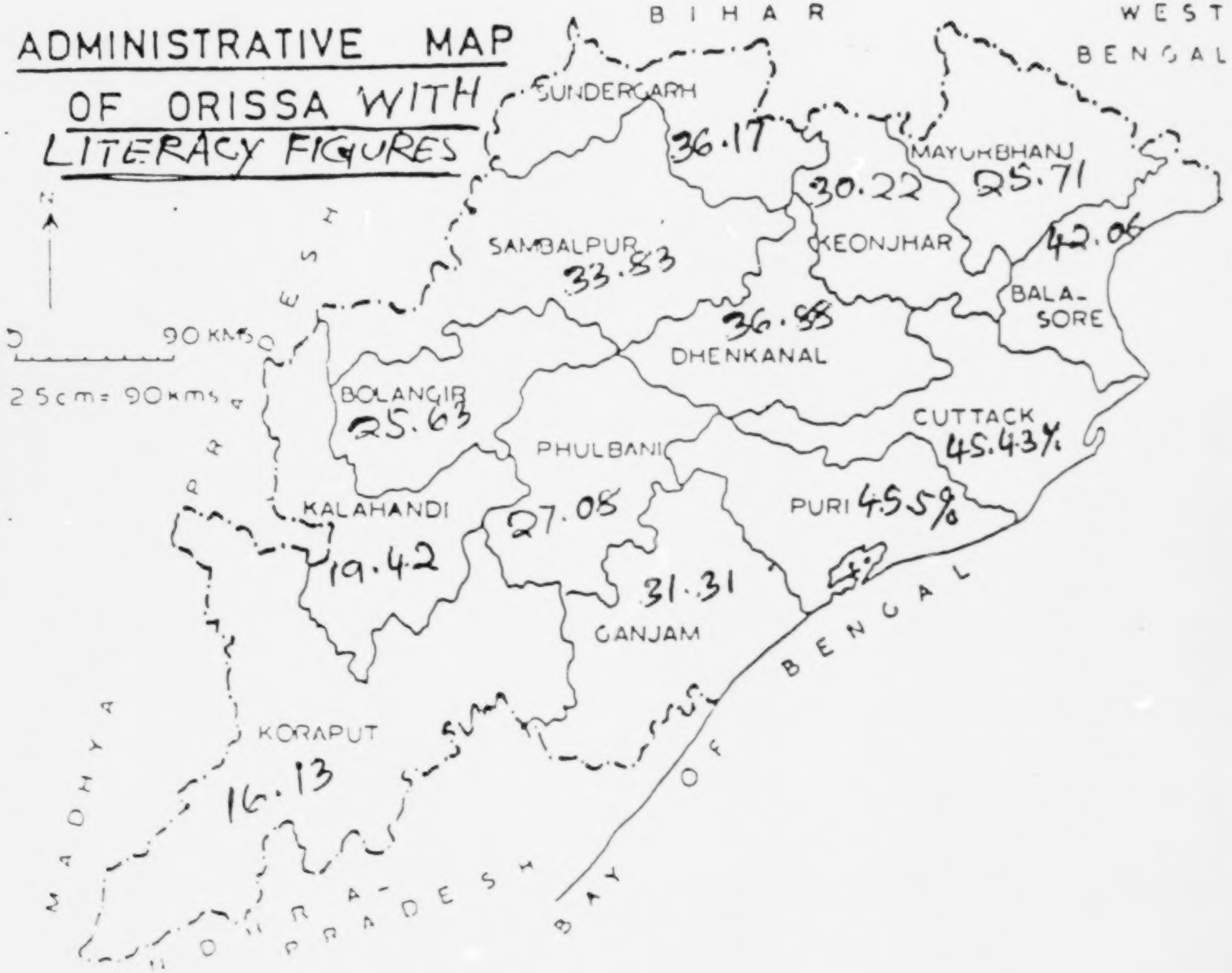
ADMINISTRATIVE MAP OF ORISSA WITH LITERACY FIGURES


N
0 90 KMS
25cm= 90kms
BIHAR
WEST BENGAL
MADHYA PRADESH
ANDHRA PRADESH
BAY OF BENGAL
SUNDERGARH
36.17
MAYURBHANJ
25.71
30.22
KEONJHAR
42.06
BALASORE
SAMBALPUR
33.83
36.88
DHENKANAL
BOLANGIR
25.63
CUTTACK
45.43%
PHULBANI
27.08
PURI 45.5%
KALAHANDI
19.42
31.31
GANJAM
KORAPUT
16.13

6.1 CHOICE OF ORISSA FOR STUDY

Selecting the province of Orissa for study deserves some explanations. Orissa is one of the provinces of India where the rate of literacy is below the national average and where the discrepancy in male and female literacy has been significant. According to the 1981 census report, the literacy rate in the province of Orissa was 34.12 percent against the national average of 36.12 percent. Within the province there was a wide gap in male and female literacy which was 47.29 and 21.11 percent respectively. The province has a large scheduled caste and scheduled tribe population including other backward castes. Geographically speaking, it has large tracts of hilly and tribal areas besides arid and semi-arid zones. Inhabitants in these regions are comparatively poor, illiterate and unemployed or self-employed in agriculture and forestry (i.e. very few of these people are employed in the public sector or even in the modern sector of the economy). Also Orissa is believed to be more rural and traditional than most other provinces where life goes on in the same way from the time immemorial. Since the NAEP aimed at improving the condition of life of the underprivileged groups, it may be more appropriate to consider whether such a socio-economic transformation was indeed augmented by the NAEP in this province.

Generally speaking, Orissa has been a poorer province in India in terms of GNP growth and per capita income. Its per capita income (although the per capita figure is extremely misleading) is lower than the national average and its share of the distribution of national wealth is also minimal. Orissa has still primarily an agriculture based economy with a marginal industrial infrastructure. Therefore, on an average, people in this province are poorer than most other provinces. Although people are materially less advantaged, culturally and spiritually, the people of Orissa are very rich. People are religious and hence conservative and traditional. One of the reasons for the existence of the rigid caste system in this province is the conservative nature of the society. People, ordinary people, believe in God and fate and whatever happens is believed to be willed by God and predetermined. The Hindu Scripture 'Gita' says: "Karmenya Byadhiskaresthu, Maa Falesu Kadachana (in Sanskrit)" i.e. a person has only the right to work and he must work and that is all, he does not have any control nor does he determine the results or outcome of his work. Although this has a profound philosophical and logical meaning, people interpret it rather in a negative way, i.e. no matter what they do in order to alleviate their socio-economic lot it is predetermined by the God. During my visit to Orissa in the summer of 1988, I came across many people who said that no matter what the government did, nothing was going to change for them nor had anything changed for them so far, although they had been hearing a lot about government plans and programs for the poor. All of them told me that leaders came to visit them only at the time of election for their votes and made so many promises. As soon as the election was over they never saw these leaders nor heard about their plans until the next election. This scenario is perhaps true in any country. However, it hurts more in a country like India where ordinary people are not only poor and illiterate but also completely helpless to help themselves.

The choice of the province has a lot to do with the fact that it is the home province of this researcher who was born and brought up there. The advantage of that is the researcher speaks the language of the province and hence communication with the people was easier and effective. Since the languages of the people of India varies from one province to the other (there are at least 826 different languages and dialects spoken in India), it is extremely important that the researcher knows the local regional language in order to communicate with the adults who do not speak any other languages other than their own. Communication and discussion with the adults as well as understanding of the literatures, adult education primers and other documents and circulars including records were made possible because of the researchers' knowledge of the language.

Comparatively speaking, Orissa has a more arrogant bureaucracy than most other provinces. Because of the nature of the society (in terms of poverty, illiteracy, superstitions, religious beliefs and conservatism in general) the bureaucrats found it easier to subjugate the ordinary mass and continue their hegemony over them. It was interesting to see if the NAEP was functioning properly against the odds of such top heavy bureaucratic-control and whims, because if it was then the NAEP could operate elsewhere as well.

Last, but not least, the choice of Orissa is augmented by its unique political history. Historically, it is one of the provinces where normally the same political party takes control of the provincial government that runs the federal government. This means that there has been greater federal control over the provincial leaders due to strict party discipline and therefore lesser provincial complaints and demands in New Delhi for more funding or more share of the national wealth. This also means that the successive provincial governments have been generally supportive of federal plans and programs and perhaps faithfully implementing them without any hesitation and questioning. The implication of such a scenario is that the state has been a "political peace zone" with the people of Orissa receiving less than a fair share of national resource allocation. In a centralized federation like India where constitutionally the federal government wields much more power to supersede the wishes of the provinces, the provinces have little choice in accepting or denying a federal mandate such as the NAEP. However, a province where a different political party governs (other than the one which governs the federal government) perhaps could freeze federal plans and programs by non-cooperation or by putting less importance and priority on it. Such scenarios are rare, if any, in provinces where the ruling federal party takes control of provincial politics also.

In Orissa, keeping on track with its tradition, there was a change of government in 1977 with the same Janata party (the party that replaced Mrs. Indira Gandhi with Mr. Morarjee Desai as the Prime Minister of India) taking over the provincial government administration. With the same political party in power in the province it was believed that the government might have whole heartedly cooperated in the implementation of the NAEP in the province. It would therefore be appropriate and interesting to study the functioning of the NAEP in Orissa where it received the blessings of both levels of governments. Given this scenario, it was also assumed that the NAEP might have done well in Orissa. However, if it did not or could not do well in this province with the support of both levels of government, then perhaps it might have been more frustrating in provinces where a different political party was in power and where support of the provincial government for the NAEP was minimal

In the light of the above facts, the researcher thought that Orissa would be a natural and logical choice for the study. It's unique history, culture and tradition, political legacy and literacy standing in comparison to other provinces precipitated such a choice.

6.2 ORISSA: SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROFILE

Orissa is one of the 25 provinces of India with a population of 26.27 million and a literacy rate of 34.23 percent (which was 2 percent below the national average of 36.23 percent, according to 1981 Census of India Report). It has an area of 155,707 square kilometres covering approximately 4.74 percent of the total territory of the country. It has a smaller population base, lower growth rate and thinner density of population compared to the national average. For example, the growth of population in Orissa during the period (1970-1980) was approximately 20 percent as compared to 25 percent for the country. Similarly, the density of population per square kilometre was 169 in Orissa compared to 216 for India (in 1986-87). Reasons for its smaller population and lower growth rate are manifold [such as]: lack of industrial infrastructure, poor economic conditions of the people, infant mortality among the poor and the underprivileged in the remote communities, large tracts of uninhabited land covered by rain forests, hilly areas, mountains and rivers, as well as arid and semi-arid zones, to name a few important factors. More than a third of its population (approximately 37 percent) belong to scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and other backward castes collectively known as the untouchables.

Approximately two thirds of the people of Orissa live below the poverty line. The per capita income of the people is approximately 30 percent lower than the national average. For example, the per capita income of people in Orissa (in 1986-87) was Rs.478 (approximately $48.00 according to the 1986 currency exchange rate) as against Rs.700 for India at the 1970-71 price index.[1]

Nearly 30 million people of Orissa live in 52,417 villages and 81 towns and cities spread over approximately 156,000 square kilometres. The province has an agricultural economy. According to one estimate in 1961, only 43.7 percent of the people were in the work force out of which 73.8 percent were engaged in agriculture and the rest in industry and small business. Nearly 65 percent of the people live in rural areas with agriculture and related trades as their occupation. Although very rich in natural resources, Orissa has an underdeveloped industrial base, accounting for only 1.03 percent of the total industrial outlets which employs merely 0.21 percent of the industrial labour force on a daily basis.[2]

All told, Orissa is one of the backward provinces of India, economically, politically, educationally and socially. Economically its slow growth is evident in its marginal industrial base and low per capital income below the national average; politically it is comparatively a 'peace zone' where political unrest rarely happens and whose voice is rarely heard at the federal level which means less federal support and funding; educationally, its literacy rate is below the national average and it is one of the nine provinces which receive special federal grants for universalization of elementary education under the nonformal education scheme; and socially it is a highly caste and class ridden society where religion, castes, languages, social taboos and superstitions still hold strong ground, particularly in rural village communities. Natural disasters such as flood, drought, cyclone, etc. every year also contribute to the miseries of the people. Such a scenario had prompted W.C. Osgood (1950) nearly 41 years ago to write:

> It is [i.e. Orissa is] backward. More than half of the province consisting of partially excluded areas (backward areas which needs special attention), and twenty percent of the people being classified as backward; that is belonging to the depressed or scheduled castes (and scheduled tribes)... It is characterized by unbridged rivers and poor communications. Flood, drought, cyclone and famine follow each other in almost unbroken succession. It is a deficit province having to depend on financial help from the centre.[3]

Although things have changed dramatically between 1950 and 1991 and many comments made by Osgood are simply not true any more (for example, there are bridges on almost all major rivers, transportation and communication facilities are excellent, and all provinces in a federal political set up receive federal funding - dependant or not), nevertheless his statements illustrate a vital point, i.e. backwardness of the province of Orissa compared to most other provinces. Orissa is still backward although some provinces are poorer yet. In short, compared to most other provinces, it has a higher rate of poverty, illiteracy and lower rate of socio-economic and educational growth. An unpublished document on "Evaluation of Adult Education Program in Orissa", (1990) writes:

> Orissa is a relatively backward state of India... the state is overwhelmingly rural and has a sizeable tribal population (24 percent). Above all, it is characterized by a high rate of illiteracy.[4]

6.3 ORISSA: LITERACY PROFILE

The magnitude of illiteracy in Orissa is higher than most other provinces and centrally administered Union Territories. It stood 20th in rank in the literacy pyramid among 31 provinces and union territories in 1981.[5] While the State of Kerala had the highest literacy rate of 70.42 percent, Arunachal Pradesh had the lowest rate of only 20.79 percent.[6] The literacy rate of Orissa was 34.23 percent which was two percent below the national average of 36.23 percent. Within the province there was a wide disparity between male and female literacy which was 47.29 and 21.11 percent respectively in 1981. The rural urban break down of literacy figures was also striking. For example, in 1990, while the rate of urban literacy was at 54.77 percent, it was only 31.49 percent for rural areas. The literacy rate of backward castes such as: the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes was also significantly lower than the national average. For example, in 1990, the literacy rate among Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes was 22.41 percent and 13.96 percent respectively. Geographically, the coastal plains which are fertile and irrigated, registered a much higher rate of literacy than the inland hilly and arid/semi-arid zones. According to 1981 figures, of the coastal districts of Puri, Cuttack, and Balasore had a significantly higher literacy rate (45.5 percent, 45.43 percent and 42.06 percent) compared to districts such as: Koraput (16.13 percent) and Kalahandi (19.42 percent).[7]

The literacy rate however significantly increased in the province between 1951 and 1981 from an approximate 16 percent to 34.23 percent. The growth of literacy in the 1970s was more impressive than in the previous decades. For example, there was an 8 percent increase in literacy rate between 1971 and 1981. The following table outlines the growth of literacy in Orissa between 1961-81.

TABLE 17[1*]

Growth of Literacy in Orissa, 1961-1981

Period	Total	Male	Female
1961	21.66%	34.68%	8.64%
1971	26.10%	38.29%	13.92%
1981	34.12%	47.29%	21.11%

[1*] Source: Evaluation of Adult Education Program in Orissa, 1990, p.8.

In spite of the growth of the literacy rate in percentage, the number of illiterates also increased in absolute number between 1971 and 1981. For example, during the period 1971-81, the number of illiterates increased from 16.2 million in 1971 to 17.3 million by 1981. Similarly, the number of illiterates in the 15-35 age group also increased from 4.8 millions to 5.3 million. In spite of the planned Adult Education Programs, higher population growth had swelled the tide of illiteracy.[8]

The province is divided into thirteen (13) administrative units called Districts. The names of the districts and rate of literacy in percentage is given on the next page:

TABLE 18[2*]

Literacy Figures of Different Districts in Orissa (1981)

		(Percentage of Total Figure)	
Name of Districts	**Literacy Percentage**	**Male**	**Female**
Puri	45.50	59.28	31.15
Cuttack	45.43	58.12	32.17
Balasore	42.06	55.55	28.26
Dhenkamal	36.88	51.58	21.54
Sundengarh	36.17	47.36	24.15
Sambal Pur	33.83	47.73	19.54
Ganjam	31.31	45.98	17.08
Kendujhar	30.22	42.98	17.24
Phulbani	27.08	42.70	11.44
Mayerbhanj	25.71	37.39	13.90
Balangir	25.63	39.84	11.31
Kalahandi	19.42	31.28	7.68
Koraput	16.13	23.63	8.57

The above figures suggest that Puri has the highest literacy rate of 45.50 percent and Koraput has the lowest, at 16.13 percent in 1951. Geographical conditions (such as hilly and arid areas unsuitable for agriculture, deep rain forests etc.), lack of industrial base, and large tribal population in the districts of Koraput and Kalahandi have contributed to the lower literacy rate in these districts. Data also suggest that female literacy in Orissa is generally low (below the national average of 36.23 percent) and particularly very low in land locked interior districts. However, it is also important to remember that the coastal districts of Puri (11.08 percent), Cuttack (17.58 percent) Balasore (8.58 percent) and Ganjam (10.10 percent) combinedly register nearly half (47.34 percent) of the population of the province.

[2*] Source: Literacy Statistics of India, 1981, pp. 54-55.

6.4 EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES IN THE PROVINCE OF ORISSA

In spite of such lower rate of literacy and unimpressive overall picture in terms of literacy statistics for the province, the educational facilities available in the state has been encouraging. For example, the "Report of the Fourth Educational Survey" (1982) revealed that 81.19 percent of the communities and 93.95 percent of the population of the province had elementary education facilities within a distance of one (1) kilometre. In total, there were 40.205 elementary schools, 2,508 secondary schools, 418 colleges and institutions of higher learning and 5 universities in the province that were recognized and funded by the provincial government.[9] There are also a significant number of elementary, secondary schools as well as general education colleges in the province which are not yet recognized or in the process of being recognized by the provincial government.

Against this background of educational opportunities, it is inconceivable that the province has such a low rate of literacy. A growing realization that the vast resources and potential of these institutions (schools, colleges and universities) have been under-utilized and that the manpower resource of these institutions have never been mobilized for eradication of illiteracy, has prompted educational strategists both at the federal and provincial levels, to involve schools, colleges, and universities in pursuing adult literacy.

The National Adult Education Program (NAEP) intended to utilize these untapped manpower resources as part of its strategy to help alleviate literacy. While secondary and elementary school teachers were requested to help implement the program, colleges and universities (both students and teachers) took a leading role in this literacy campaign through the mandate from the University Grants Commission (UGC). In Orissa, three universities: Utkal University, Sambalpur University and Berhampur University had participated in the Adult Education Program under the project "Eradication of Adult Illiteracy" by the involvement of university/college/students/Teachers under point no. 16 of the 20 point development program (Please see Appendix for a description of the 20 Point Program) declared by the government of India for the Sixth Plan Period (1980-85).

> Point number 16 of the 20 point program declared:
>
> Spread of universal elementary education for the age group 6 - 14 with special emphasis on girls, and simultaneously involve students and voluntary agencies in the program for removal of adult illiteracy.[10]

The target population intended to be covered under this "Eradication of Adult Illiteracy Project" was set at 41,490 per year through 138 colleges and 1383 Adult Education Centres.[11] Among all three universities, Utkal University took a leading role in this drive for adult literacy.

In 1984-85, the University Grants Commission (UGC) sanctioned funding to Utkal University under the "Eradication of Adult Illiteracy Project under point no. 16" with the objective of involving the university and 80 of its affiliated colleges in order to open 1030 adult education centres throughout the territorial jurisdiction of the university. The university, through 80 of its affiliated colleges (Utkal University has 238 affiliated degree awarding colleges), selected on the basis of their interest to participate in literacy programs, opened 1000 adult education centres with a total enrolment of 30,000 learners (30 learners per each AEC). Out of this, 8125 learners were made literate in 1985-86.[12]

The researcher's discussion with the Assistant Director of the Department of Adult Continuing Education and Extension Work, Utkal University, Bhubaneshwar, Orissa, in August 1988 revealed that the territorial jurisdiction of Utkal University stretched to six districts: Balasore, Cuttack, Dhenkanal, Keonjhar, Mayurbhanj, and Puri with a total population of 13,931,179 out of which 8,279,220 were illiterate which constituted approximately 60 percent of the population. The number of illiterates in the 15-35 age group was 2,566,558. Dr. S.M. Pany, the Assistant Director also suggested that although Utkal University has been taking a leading role in adult education programs under point no. 16 of the 20 point program, there has been a steady decline (from 891 AEC in 1985-86 to 150 in 1987-88) in the number of Adult Education Centres organized by colleges and the university primarily due to stringent guidelines of supplying money to participating colleges and the restructuring of the adult education program by the University Grants Commission (UGC) by introducing a new approach called the "Area Development Approach" to be implemented from September 1988. This new approach was to be introduced in September 1988 with the target of opening 2500 Adult Education Centres in the jurisdiction of Utkal University by 1994-95, aiming at covering 296,000 illiterate adults.

With regard to the functioning, and programs, of Adult Education under the NAEP, Dr. Pany hesitated to give any conclusive remarks, however, briefly commented that in his opinion, the NAEP was riddled with so many problems that it could not be successful even with the best of intentions and perseverance. Upon questioning on what were the problems of the NAEP he suggested that the program remained a thrust for basic literacy only; it did not provide any mechanism for training in functionality and social awareness and no tools to measure their level of achievement by the learners. Bureaucratic red-tape; non-cooperation and lack of coordination among development departments and adult education field functionaries; lack of physical facilities and teaching learning materials for learners' at the AECs and the lack of incentive and abysmally low remuneration to adult education instructors, to name a few, were some of the significant problems that the NAEP encountered. Nevertheless, in his opinion, it was a great experiment with limited success which, nevertheless provided important lessons for better adult education programs in the future.

6.5 ADULT EDUCATION IN ORISSA UNDER THE NAEP

Among the different agencies through which Adult Education Programs had been implemented in Orissa were: the Rural Functional Literacy Projects (RFLP), State Adult Education Program (SAEP), Adult Education through Voluntary Agencies, Functional Literacy for Adult Women, Adult education through Nehru Yuvak Kendras, Adult Education through University/College students, etc. The Rural Functional Literacy Projects (RFLP) and the State Adult Education Program (SAEP) were the two primary ones through which the bulk of adult education activities in the province had been undertaken.

Rural Functional Literacy Projects (RFLP)

This was a federally sponsored and funded scheme under the National Adult Education Program. The NAEP guidelines provided that there were to be at least one RFLP project in each district. At the end of 1984-85 there were 15 projects in operation in the State of Orissa with a total of 3900 Adult Education Centres enrolling approximately 117,000 adult learners. The Director of Elementary and Adult Education was in charge of coordinating and monitoring the program throughout the province.[13] The primary thrust of the program under the RFLP was to provide basic literacy training which included post-literacy and follow-up programs as well.

State Adult Education Program (SAEP)

Adult Education programs sponsored, implemented and administered by the provincial government constituted a large part of the total efforts in adult education and literacy training. It was introduced in order to achieve greater involvement of the provincial governments and to reach educationally backward regions including securing the participation of women, Scheduled castes, Scheduled tribes and other disadvantaged classes. At the end of 1985, there were 980 Adult Education Centres operating in Orissa under the SAEP with an enrolment capacity of approximately 29,000 learners per year.[14]

In 1984-85, a total of 207,360 adult learners (119,682 males and 87,678 females), were enrolled combinedly under the RFLP and SAEP (the two main programs under the NAEP) in the province of Orissa out of which 146,057 (83,850 male and 62,207 female) were made literate. Between 1978-79 and 1984-85, a total of 1,072,438 adult learners were combined by enrolled under the RFLP and SAEP out of which 859,335 were made literate.[15] Please see table 18-20 for annual enrolment and achievement through RFLP and SAEP during the period 1978-79 to 1984-85.

Adult Education Programs Undertaken by Voluntary Agencies

Federally funded voluntary agencies under the "Central Scheme of Assistance to Voluntary Organizations Working in the Field of Adult Education" also played a key role in implementing the mandate of the National Adult Education Program in the State of Orissa. Voluntary agencies working in the field of adult education have been assigned a variety of responsibilities including pursuing a functional literacy program, post-literacy, resource development, publications and public education/awareness through seminars, workshops, etc. In 1982-83 there were 12 voluntary agencies approved and funded by the federal government in Orissa which opened 420 adult education centres with an approximate enrolment of 12,600 adult learners.

The researcher's discussion with the Assistant Director of the Adult and Continuing Education and Extension Work at Utkal University, Orissa, in August 1988, revealed that, in 1988 there were 19 voluntary agencies working in the field of Adult Education in Orissa stretching over seven districts: Ganjam, Koraput, Bolangir, Puri, Dehnkanal, Balasore, and Cuttack. In the course of the discussion, it was also suggested by the Assistant Director that many voluntary agencies had been encountering difficulties in program implementation due to a delay in the release of funding, bureaucratic red-tape and either non-cooperation or an indifferent attitude by officials of different development departments involved in adult education program. This only confirmed our earlier findings that such factors did and still do hinder effective implementation of adult education programs under the NAEP.

One particular voluntary agency which had done some pioneering work in the field of adult education in Orissa was "Utkal Navajeevan Mandal", a state[3*] level voluntary organization devoted to rural development and social welfare including adult education. This voluntary organization funded under the "Central Scheme of Assistance to Voluntary Organizations Working in the Field of Adult Education" in 1978 in order to carry out adult education work under the NAEP in the district of Dhenkanal. It carried out its mandate by opening 60 adult education centres in 25 villages in and around the village of Champatimunda in the Anugual sub-division of Dhankanal district within a radius of 5 - 25 kilometres. This project was known as the Champatimunda project. The experiences of this project were later published as "A Study of a Adult Literacy Project: Champatimunda" (1980) by Kumari Khirod Naik. It functioned in two phases from 1978 to 1979 and from 1979 to 1980. The objectives of this project were to create a favourable environment for the implementation of NAEP and to assess the needs of the learners and adjust the program content and curriculum according to the requirements of the participants including measuring the educational and attitudinal benefits accrued to the learners due to their participation in the program.[16] Some of the findings of this project are highlighted here briefly for they provide useful insight into the actual benefits which accrued to the learners by participating in the Adult Education Program.

[3*] In India, a province is called as a state under the Indian Constitution.

With regard to basic literacy skills, i.e. reading, writing and simple arithmetic skills, the study found out that most learners acquired skill in reading and writing simple sentences and could do even simple two digit calculations. "The average mark obtained was 98.5 percent in reading and writing and 60.4 percent in arithmetic (full marks 100). It was further observed that the development and achievement of female learners [was] little better in reading and writing than their male counterparts on an average."[17]

With regard to the raising of awareness/consciousness raising, the study concluded that:

> By and large the objectives for the project as well as the expectations of the learners are fulfilled to a great extent. The average positive score on questions on social awareness increases from 0% in the beginning of the course to 98.8% at the end of the course, leads to this conclusion.[18]

However, the study also recognized that although the development of the level of social awareness among learners was generally satisfactory. "A closer scrutiny reveals that progress in all areas of social awareness has not been uniform. There are areas where the progress is not so satisfactory and here is scope for further improvement."[19] Among the areas where improvement was sought were improved and scientific agricultural practices and equipment, taking advantage of government departments and agencies providing essential services and credit facilities, personal health, nutrition and family planning. The other areas that showed significant negative response in terms of awareness as observed by the study were participants' lack of awareness with regard to the benefits of personal savings and their strong belief and acceptance of the social system such as untouchability and the caste system.[20] However, the findings of the study with regard to social awarenesss, and the author's suggestion that "learners expectations are fulfilled to a great extent" and the fact that the author reached this conclusion because of positive score on social awareness questions from "0% percentage in the beginning to 98.8% at the end of the course" seemed to be both interesting and ambivalent. It was ambivalent because of the fact that the author had admitted clearly that "there were other areas that showed significant negative responses in terms of awareness" which included belief in social stratification, caste system, untouchability etc. - the areas in which the learners were expected to gain awareness. The finding of this aspect of the study is interesting because it contradicts the findings of this researcher as well as the government's own admission that the social awareness component was "either missing or completely neglected" under the NAEP. The researcher's subsequent discussion with Ms. Naik in 1991 revealed that "social awareness" for adult learners was conceputalized in a very limited sense of being aware of the facilities that were provided by the government and available to them locally.

Ms. Naik's study also challenged some of the often alleged accusations that the weaker sections were not interested in their own development by not taking advantage of adult education programs and that the underprivileged were less capable of benefitting from these programs than the better off. The fact that the illiterate and the underprivileged voluntarily registered in the program and that "there was no marked difference in achievement between poorer and relatively better off people...,"[21] had prompted the investigator of the project to believe that these people did strive for their social upliftment and better life and that they were cognitively as capable as people from higher castes and class to participate and benefit from adult education programs. The study also confirmed that the longer the participants continue in the program, the better could be their level of achievement in social awareness. It reinforced the benefits of post-literacy and follow up programs after the initial learning (basic literacy skills) was achieved.

The study, however, did not mention anything about functionality or vocational skills that participants were supposed to obtain through the Adult Education Program. Therefore, it was assumed that this aspect of the program was either ignored or side-stepped.

Discussion with Kumari Khirod Naik, the principal investigator of this project, (who now works as a Program Coordinator at the State Resource Centre for Adult Education, Bhubaneswar, Orissa) in January 1991 revealed that inadequate attention was given to the functionality component of the adult education program. Ms. Naik mentioned several factors responsible for this scenario such as: lack of availability of resource persons for training of life-skills, and marketable vocational skills; lack of coordination among different development departments and either indifference or lack of cooperation of development departments with the local adult education functionaries; lack of funding available for such training etc. Ms. Naik also expressed the view that the adult education program under the NAEP continued to be basically a program for literacy training only (while the other two aspects functionality and awareness were neglected) and that adult education programs under the National Literacy Mission (NLM) (1988) had been trying to address some of these important issues.

With regard to the study on the 'Champatimunda Project', Ms. Naik suggested that it was one of the earlier studies on adult education programs under the NAEP and that the achievement of the learners in basic literacy and awareness might not be the true index of the success of the NAEP in terms of learners achievement. Therefore one should not generalize the findings of this study while accounting for the success or otherwise of the NAEP. Please see tables in the following pages indicating: (i) annual enrolment of adult learners through RFLP and SAEP in Orissa, 1979-85; (ii) annual achievement of learners enrolled in Adult Education Program through RFLP and SAEP in Orissa between 1979-1985; and (iii) annual enrolment and achievement through RFLP and SAEP in Orissa between 1978-79 to 1984-85.

TABLE 19

ANNUAL ENROLMENT OF ADULT LEARNERS (Through RFLP & SAEP) - 1979-1985*

(Figures Indicate Only Number of Adults Enrolled)

	General**				SC**			ST**			Total	
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
1979	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	86740
1980	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	257088
1981	40983	15170	56153 (48.0)	12315	4860	17175 (14.7)	33247	10425	43672	86545	304550	117000 (100)
1982	35046	17436	52482 (44.8)	19002	8559	27561 (23.6)	26158	10799	36957	80206	36794	117000 (100)
1983	35906	21518	57424 (40.8)	22809	9747	32556 (23.1)	37704	13166	50870 (36.1)	96419	44431	140850 (100)
1984	35144	31714	66858 (45.7)	17898	11578	28776 (19.6)	32588	18178	50766 (34.8)	849023	61477	146400 (100)
1985	36030	33486	71516 (34.5)	28709	20512	449221 (23.7)	52923	333680	86623 (41.8)	119682	87678	207360 (100)

In the parenthesis refer to the percentage

** SC: Scheduled Castes
ST: Scheduled Tribes
General: All other people excluding SC and ST

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* Source: Evaluation of Adult Education Program in Orissa, 1990

TABLE 20

ANNUAL ACHIEVEMENT OF LEARNERS IN ADULT EDUCATION PROGRAMME THROUGH RFLP & SAEP 1979-1985*

(Figures Only Indicate the Number of Adults Made Literate)

	General**				SC**			ST**			Total	
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
1979	20977	8108	29085 (35.53)	22740	9368	32108 (37.0)	17448	8069	25517 (29.4)	61165	25575	86740 (100)
1980	43399	24511	67910 (40.6)	35255	14385	49640 (29.8)	33575	15867	49442 (29.6)	112229	54763	166992 (100)
1981	32686	8461	41167 (40.3)	11134	3532	14666 (17.3)	21486	78675	29353	65306	198800	858160 (100)
1982	29115	12006	41121 (49.8)	10869	4885	15754 (19.1)	18658	69789	25636 (.1)	58642	23869	82511 (100)
1983	28764	28989	57753 (44.1)	15039	11726	26765 (20.7)	25851	19529	45380 (34.9)	69654	60244	129898 (100)
1984	28737	43663	72500 (44.9)	15380	17035	32415 (20.2)	26771	29633	56406 (34.9)	70988	90333	161321 (100)
1985	2637	8183	10620 (7.2)	28632	20479	49111 (33.7)	52581	33545	86126 (58.9)	83850	62207	146057 (100)

In the parenthesis refer to the percentage

** SC: Scheduled Castes
ST: Scheduled Tribes
General: All other people excluding SC and ST

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* Source: Evaluation of Adult Education Program in Orissa, 1990

TABLE 21

ANNUAL ENROLMENT AND ACHIEVEMENT THROUGH RFLP AND SAEP, IN ORISSA 1978-79 TO 1984-85

Year	Total Enrolment	Male	Female	Total Achivement	Male	Female	*Achievement in Percentage
1978-79	86740	--	--	86740	--	--	100
1979-80	257088	--	--	166992	--	--	65
1980-81	117000	86545	30455	85816	65306	19880	73
1981-82	117000	80206	36794	82511	58642	23869	71
1982-83	140860	96419	44431	129898	69654	60244	92
1983-84	146400	84923	61477	**161321	70988	90333	110
1984-85	207360	119682	87678	146057	83850	62270	70
Total	1072438	467775	260835	859335	348440	256596	

* In percentage column decimal of .5 or more is recorded as a full percentage.

** Data seems to be unrealistic, unless more numbers of Adult Education Centres were registered and more adults enrolled in the mid-year which was not accounted for some reason.

6.6 FIELD VISITS

In order to obtain first hand information with regard to the functioning of the Adult Education Program in general and the operation of Adult Education Centres in particular, the researcher visited four Adult Education Centres in the Sukinda Block of Cuttack district in the province of Orissa in August 1988. During the period of this visit the researcher observed the functioning of the Adult Education Program in four Adult Education Centres namely: Rangitangara AEC, Raj Biradara Sahi AEC and Barika Sahi AEC and Behura Sahi AEC all in Sukinda Block. He also had discussions and interviews with the instructors, supervisor and learners and observed the actual functioning of the adult education program in the Adult Education Centres. The discussions and interviews were focussed on progress and problems of the NAEP including their reflections and suggestions in order to improve the adult education program.

The researcher believed that this could provide important insights concerning the operation of the program in the province since the data collected were first hand primary materials obtained at the grassroots level.

It is, however, important to mention that by the time the researcher conducted his field visit, the National Adult Education Program (NAEP) had its nomenclature changed twice from NAEP to AEP (Adult Education Program) in 1983 and to National Literacy Mission (NLM) in May 1988. In spite of this change of name, the programs under the NAEP, AEP and NLM remained essentially the same in all respects. Available primary and secondary data as well as the researcher's personal discussion with the Secretary of Education, Government of India, Mr. Anil Bordia; Mr. Laxmindhar Mishra, Director General, National Literacy Mission; Mrs. Maithili Chandra, Joint Advisor of Education, Planning Commission, Government of India; and Mr. J.C. Saxena, the Secretary General of Indian Adult Education Association, New Delhi, confirmed the fact that NLM was the same old wine (NAEP) only to be bottled in a new and fancier bottle. The only difference between the NAEP and NLM was in their approach and not in programs.

> The NLM [National Literacy Mission] was launched in May 1988 after the National Policy on Education was enunciated in 1986 with an emphasis on universalization of elementary education. Whereas the earlier program of

> NAEP was only a part of the government [programs of adult education] being administered through the existing formal structure, the NLM is a mission prodded by a political will, and thus, is a high priority program with a more specific approach and goal. It aims at imparting functional literacy to 80 million illiterate persons within the 15-35 age group, 30 millions by 1990 and an additional 50 million by 1995.[22]

Since the adult education programs were basically the same under both nomenclatures (NAEP and NLM), the researcher assumed that a field visit in 1988 might provide the same kind of information and insight as if the visit had taken place in 1983 or 1984.

As mentioned earlier, the field visit was conducted in the Sukinda Garh Gram Panchanyat of the Sukinda Development Block in the District of Cuttack. The Gram Panchanyat had ten Adult Education Centres each enrolling between 25-30 adult learners. The four Adult Education Centres (Rangitangara, Behrura Sahi, Raj Biradara Sahi and Barika Sahi) were chosen in random. However, two of these Adult Education Centres were geographically contiguous (i.e. Barika Sahi AEC and Raj Biradar Sahi AEC) and both were Adult Education Centres for women. Similarly, the Rangitangara AEC was an Adult Education Centre for men only.

6.6.1 Rangitangara Adult Education Centre

Profile of the Village: (Date of Visit - 04-08-88)

Rangitangara is a small village of 200 inhabitants located nearly 5 kilometres from the township of Sukinda Garh. All the people in the village are scheduled castes and hence labelled as untouchables. Approximate breakdown of population according to age was:

0 - 14 years	50
15 - 35	100
36 - 55	35
55 and above	15
Total	200

Roughly six to seven people in the village were functionally literate. The rest did not have any education. Many of the adults worked as wage labourers in nearby farms or landlord's houses. Most of them were landless peasants working the landlord's farm. A few had land less than one acres. The nearby elementary school was only a 2 kilometre distance but only a handful of school age children were attending school.

Adult Education Centre:

The Rangitargara Adult Education Centre was established in April 1988. It was a male AEC approved under the State Adult Education Program (SAEP). Although there were females in the village who were interested in the program they were not allowed to enrol because there were Adult Education Centres exclusively meant for women. Therefore, women were not allowed in the men's centre and vice-versa.

The researcher paid a visit to this Adult Education Centre on August 4, 1988 along with the instructor for the centre Mr. K.K. Mohanty. The centre was supposed to function six days a weeks in the evening between 6 and 8 p.m. or 7 to 9 p.m. depending on the mutual agreement between the instructor and the learners. The Adult Education Centre and the place for instruction (classroom) were one and the same. There was no electric light in the Centre although the power line was only a stone's throw from the village. Physical facilities were poor in the Centre. They included a couple of long wooden benches, a chair and table for the instructors, built-in concrete bookshelves, and two or three kerosene lanterns to light the place at night. The learners were to sit on the floor unless some one wanted to bring a mat to sit on.

As soon as we (the researcher and the instructor for the Centre) arrived at the centre (it was 5:45 p.m. and was 15 minutes to the scheduled class time at 6:00 p.m.) participants started to gather at the small patio (veranda) of the Centre outside the classroom. However, participants continued to come until 30 - 45 minutes past 6:00 p.m. which was very disturbing to the instructor but quite understandable from the participant's point of view. Those learners who came home late from work naturally came late to the class. Later I was told by the instructor that since he informed the learners about my visit that night that many of them came only relatively late, otherwise on most days learners continued to come until a few minutes before the class was scheduled to disperse. Anyway, that particular day, we had an attendance of 17 learners out of a total enrolment of 30 (the instructor informed me later that the usual attendance varied from 12 to 15). Part of the instructor's time was wasted in his sincere attempt to call and persuade the absentees to join the class [I was told that it was an expected and regular duty of the instructor]. He did it by personally calling a few by going to their homes and also sending some participants to call on other absentees.

In dim and inadequate light, with constant disruption due to learners arriving at regular intervals, the instructor started teaching. He started with simple numeracy such as addition and subtraction on the blackboard with the learners copying it onto paper (though in fact many of them did not). Pictures, figures and some counting materials for numeracy were the only available aids for this math class which lasted for about half an hour. Then the instructor moved to reading and writing where learners read the primers along with the instructor. The writing part consisted of the instructor writing some simple, commonly used words and sentences on the blackboard, which the learners were supposed to copy in their notebooks. The instructor tried to help the learners write down their names, the name of their village and such other simple matters. However, many of them had difficulty in writing and most, either could not, or did not. The instructor had university education but did not have any formal training in teaching adults. Under the circumstances and given the physical condition of the centre and the learners, I though that the instructor did the best that he could.

There was no instruction in, or mention of, functionality or social awareness in the class. Discussion with the adult learners before and after the class revealed that most of the learners were sincerely interested in attending the class but were sceptical about the benefits of being literate. Many of them wondered what literacy and numeracy could bring them in their lives in terms of material benefits. Were they going to be rich? Could literacy give them a good job, a good life, or at least a good meal every day? Could it (literacy) improve their social status, i.e. make them acceptable by the higher Hindus? Could it enhance their self-respect? Many of them had concluded that literacy and this adult education program could bring them nothing in their real life. So why bother? Definitely these were difficult questions with no ready made answers. When I explained the benefits of being a literate person, many of them looked at me in disbelief, and then laughed and said that since I was a Baboo, i.e. a higher class elite, I could tell them anything I liked and that I did not understand how difficult their life was (which was probably true) and that no matter what I said, or these adult education people (i.e. adult education functionaries) said, nothing was going to change or help improve their situation.

Many learners pointed out the lack of physical facilities and teaching learning materials at the Adult Education Centre. A significant number of learners indicated that it would be a good idea to provide some kind of incentives for attending adult education class such as the provision of some kind of snack at the Centre before the beginning of the class. Since both spouses had to work during day time and the evening meal was not prepared until late in the evening (and perhaps in most households there might not be anything handy to eat after coming from work), many of them either came to the Adult Education Centre on an empty stomach or came much later after they had eaten their meal. Many learners suggested that a snack arrangement at the centre could not only provide an incentive, but might also solve the problem of late attendance and consequent disruption of the class.

A few enthusiasts also suggested, (although extremely appropriate but beyond the capacity of the government of India), that some kind of cash allowance (either weekly or monthly) might be given to the participants that might provide them the incentive to attend adult education class.

Among other things, many learners suggested that they would like to see improved physical facilities in the Centre including proper light (electric light) facilities and sitting arrangements, a T.V. set and a daily newspaper.

(i) Discussion with the Adult Education Instructor:

Detailed discussion with the adult education instructor for the Rangilangara AEC provided some much needed feedback with regard to the operation of the program at the field level as well as pointing out areas of deficiency where immediate attention must be given if the adult education program was to be successful. One of the very first issues raised by the instructor was job security. I was told that the instructor's job was temporary and that he/she could be fired by his superiors at any time without any notice. Instructors who were young, energetic and qualified and who aspired to make a career out of this, continued to be haunted by job insecurity and helplessness. In addition, the salary of the instructor, which was a mere Rs100 per month ($5.00 Canadian in 1992 exchange rate), was abysmally low considering the current price index. It was less than a peanut for the thankless job instructors do every day by putting three to four hours of their time (which included instructional time of two hours plus time for their conveyance, canvassing learners to attend adult education class). The situation was certainly humiliating to the profession. Job security and better salaries were the immediate needs.

The instructor also felt that adult education instructors should be hired on the basis of their qualification and experience rathern than according to the wishes of the higher officials. If qualified persons were hired without any formal training in teaching adults, they must be provided adequate training before going to the field as adult education instructors.

The current practice of four days of training in every three month period seemed to be inadequate and insufficient. The instructor indicated that he neither had any formal or informal training in "life skills" or vocational upgrading nor did he have adequate competence in raising social consciousness among the learners. Hence, he found it easy not to talk about functionality and awareness at all. His supervisor had told him to put the thrust on basic literacy and that was what he was doing. The instructor also acknowledged that sometimes he would receive some primers from the central office dealing with "how to raise consciousness", described in terms of stories and addressed to the learners. It had been his responsibility simply to distribute this literature among the readers. Only on rare occasions the instructor had discussed the message given to the learners in these primers/literature in the class.

Therefore, there was an urgent need to provide relevant training to the instructors about how to teach lessons in awareness and how to coordinate or organize instructions in life-skills or vocational upgrading (by arranging locally available resources), if the adult education program was not to be relegated to a program of literacy drive only.

The efficiency, dedication and resourcefulness of the instructor could not be over emphasized, for the selection of incompetent instructors might ruin the purpose and direction of the program. It should be noted that this Rangitangara AEC was first started in 1985 but was closed down due to the inefficiency of the instructor (because learners did not come to the class) several months later, and was reopened only in April 1988.

Mr. Mohanty further indicated that he would very much appreciate the supply of some essential items for the instructors: such as a flash light, an umbrella, and funding for a bicycle in order to help them to be in the AEC on time. This instructor who lived in a nearby village 5 kilometres from the AEC site had to come to the Centre in pitch dark most of the time even during the rainy season because he did not have and could not afford to buy a flash light from his monthly salary. He had a bicycle; however, when it needed repair (which he could not repair immediately due to lack of money), he had to walk to the Centre unless someone was kind enough to give him a bicycle ride. Although he was used to the road conditions nevertheless without light on dark nights there was always the possibility of minor accidents causing bodily injury. Snake bites were also a real possibility and a serious hazard. Similarly the instructor indicated that an umbrella was a necessity, particularly during the rainy season when he had to go to the Adult Education Centre in the evening regardless of the weather conditions. Most instructors who did not or could not afford an umbrella on their own, had to go to the Centre completely wet. He also suggested that the supply of a pair of knee high rain boots could not only help them walk in rain and water relatively easily but also could greatly reduce the possibility of being bitten by snakes and other poisonous lizards.

The instructor also pointed to some other factors such as: lack of physical facilities in the centre, lack of teaching/learning materials and lack of funding for other essential items in the centre such as: audio-visual aids, a T.V. set, a radio, maps, globe, etc. including a daily newspaper. It was also suggested that a propane or kerosene powered petromax light might be of great use for providing a better study environment in the class.

I think that the instructor's explanations were genuine and appropriate and that attention must be given to provide these minimum essentials to the instructors who are not only the agents of adult education but rather the heart and soul of the program.

6.6.2 Raj Biradara Sahi Adult Education Centre: (Date of Visit: 05.08.1988)

This particular AEC is adjacent to the Sukinda Garh township. This was exclusively a women's centre with an enrolment of 30 adult learners. The instructor's own house was usually the place for adult education activities. On the day of the visit, class was suspended because of the sickness of the instructor Ms. Basanta Manjari Samanta. However, the instructor took great pains to willingly to come out of her bed and was very kind to talk with the researcher for some time, albeit briefly.

Highlight of the Discussion

Suspension or cancellation of class due to the illness of the instructor provided us with an eye opening challenge that there ought to be some alternative arrangement in such circumstances.

The instructor informed me that although 30 women had registered in the program, only a handful of approximately 10 attended the AEC on an average. There had been no consistency in attendance of any learner except two, and that the attendance had been in decline. Since this was a women's Centre only, the instructor said that it was basically the work load at home, and non-cooperation of male household members in the learner's family that led to this situation. She indicated that she had tried her best to persuade them to come back to the AEC by visiting their homes, but with limited success. Nevertheless, she had to maintain the record for all 30 registrants otherwise she might lose her job or face the consequence of her meagre salary being withheld because of her inability to keep the participants in the program. It was surely very unfair and unkind to penalize the instructor for drop out of adult learners from the Adult Education class over which she might not have any control at all. However, the attendance situation indicated the true index of the learner participation in the Adult Education class. This scenario made it clear that official records with regard to enrolment figures did not always reflect the real classroom attendance in the Centre (AEC).

The instructor also indicated the need for improved physical facilities, teaching/learning materials and an officially designated Adult Education Centre to be used as an office and the classroom. After witnessing the situation in the instructor's house, which was used as the AEC, the author had no doubts about the need for such necessities.

The instructor also reiterated some of the earlier points as expressed by the previous instructor, such as the need for job security, more salary and holidays, some contingency funds in the hands of the instructors to replace broken or lost items and purchase of essential items when needed. The need for a T.V. set, and a radio was also emphasized. The instructor here also indicated that she would very much like to have some funding available for field trips to local village industries and funding available to women for knitting and sewing. The instructor also suggested the need for some kind of awards or certificate for regular class attendance, and awards or certificate for those who successfully completed the program. This provision, if incorporated, she believed would provide incentive for regular class attendance and completion of the program.

After a short discussion, the instructor was unable to continue conversation due to fatigue and sickness.

6.6.3 Barika Sahi Adult Education Centre (Date of Visit 05.08.88)

This Adult Education Centre was also a women's Centre only, close to the Sukinda Garh township. This was not a village but part of a larger village inhabited by a particular section of the population belonging to lower caste Hindus but not untouchables. The instructor for this centre was Ms. Minati Dhir, a local village girl with high school education.

The Centre had an enrolment of 26 women. However, only five or six attended regularly. The rest did not have any regularity of attendance. Therefore, the class size used to vary every day from 5/6 to 22/23. Most women registered in the program were about 15-35 in age except a few who were above 35 but below 45 years of age. The women who were over 35 were enrolled because of their interest in the program, and they were the ones who attended the class regularly. Most of the women in the program were married with more than two children. Most often the instructor's house was used for the adult education class, although once in a while one of the learners' houses might be used for class purposes. There was no building or equipment or office room for this Centre which the instructor had to provide on her own from her own resources.

On the day of the visit, there were only five participants attending the class. The instructor, Ms. Dhir, indicated that she had gone to many of the participant's homes in order to persuade them to come to the class but with little success. She indicated that on the particular day of my visit, her appeal to learners to come to class had not worked at all. Ms. Dhir, the instructor, suggested that her appeal to participants to attend class that day failed, because there was already information reaching each woman participant of the village by word of mouth, that a high ranking federal government official, a gentleman (i.e. the researcher) would be visiting the Adult Education Centre, and the class in the evening. Therefore, the fear of confronting the unexpected and unknown, and encountering the difficulty of facing a gentleman to whom they could never talk due to shyness and social taboos, and who might even ask some questions which they were somewhat sure that they could not handle, prohibited them from attending class that night. Even the most courageous of the ladies who attended the class were apprehensive. I was also told that husbands of some women forbade their wives to attend class that day because they did not want their wives to be seen or talked to by a stranger who also happened to be a man.

I was not at all surprised at this detailed explanation of the instructor with regard to this scenario and fully recognized and understood it, for I have known, and am familiar with the social customs, traditions and taboos that pervade rural areas. The illustration of this issue once again made it clear that the adult education program had not been very successful in raising social awareness among the people and that it was high time that concerted efforts be made to raise social consciousness among people through the adult education programs.

All my efforts to discuss anything with the participants failed because they all chose to remain silent.

The classroom was a small cement and concrete room (this instructor's household was relatively affluent) in the instructor's home, which could handily accommodate 15 to 20 participants sitting on the floor. There was a wooden cot which was used as both the chair and table for the instructor. There were two kerosene lanterns, but the light was dim and inadequate. All participants had primers for reading and math and pencil and paper. The instructor started with reading material followed by writing and them simple arithmetic. I doubt, if the learners understood or followed the insructions because they never said a word (I was told that I was to blame for this scenario of women being silent). However, the teacher/instructor informed me that since she had no formal or inservice training in teaching methodology and teaching techniques, she taught in her own way, according to the best of her ability. And there was no reason to think otherwise. That particular day, class was dispersed sooner than usual so that the instructor could be interviewed by the researcher.

Discussion with the Instructor

Discussion with the instructor with regard to the functioning of the adult education program and her own reflections revealed most of the concerns and problems mentioned by the previous instructors. Areas of concern included: lack of office space and building facilities for classroom, lack of physical facilities including adequate supply of teaching/learning materials, job insecurity and low remuneration, inadequate training in teaching methodology and techniques, lack of audio-visual aids except adult education primers, and indifference and callousness of superiors in providing help and as well as improving working conditions and learning environment at the Adult Education Centres.

The instructor admitted that she was not provided with any training in the area of functionality and awareness and that neither was she competent to teach either of these components of the adult education program. However, she felt confident that she could teach those areas if she had been given some training.

When questioned about the reasons for maintaining the records for all registrants, even the ones who were not attending the class anymore, the instructor indicated that she had to maintain such records for two rasons: (1) for the instructor's own job security and monthly salary and (ii) many participants were regularly irregular. They attended the AEC classes on their own initiative and at their convenience, sometimes even in monthly intervals. Since there was no regulation or policy with regard to the attendance in the AEC, nonattendance for a period of time was not an automatic indication of a learner being dropped out of the adult education program.

Although no records of achievement of the learners were available, the instructor informed me that she hoped at least 25 percent of the learners would complete the first phase of the program expected to last for ten months. Given the existing situation, she seemed to be highly optimistic with regard to learner enrolment and their level of achievement. The instructor, upon inquiry, also suggested that she had not witnessed any significant benefits that had accrued to the learners (nor had the learners reported any improvement in their daily lives) due to the learners' enrolment in adult education program except that the women get relief from heavy household work for at least 2/3 hours every evening. It had given them the opportunity to rest, and communicate and share their experiences with others in an informal setting which they believed would be beneficial for them. It was suggested to them by the instructor and other adult education functionaries that attending the adult education class could be beneficial to them and their families, but the women still did not know with any certainty that they could reap any such benefits in their daily lives.

Upon questioning, the instructor indicated that she liked to teach others and would continue to be an instructor for the following year provided salary was increased, physical conditions for teaching was improved and she was not married and moved to her husband's house.

6.6.4 Behura Sahi Adult Education Centre (Date of Visit: 06-08-88)

This village community was also a part of the Sukinda Garh township where a particular subcaste (Behuras) of caste Hindu live. It had roughly a population of 200. Agewise[4*] breakdown of population would be: 0-12 years (approximately 20%), 12-15 years (approximately 10%), 15-35 years (30% or more), 35-55 years (20% or so), 55 and over (20%). Sex-wise breakdown in 15-35 age group was approximately 55% male and 45 women. Most of the adults were working as wage-labourers in nearby rice-fields for landlords. Some, however, did have their own land (and those were the ones who were relatively affluent) and a few worked for local businessmen and in government offices. There was an elementary and a secondary school nearby, and most school age children were reported to be attending schools. Drop out rate from schools (both elementary and secondary) was approximately 30 percent (according to the Report of the Education Commission 1966, out of every 100 children who enrolled in grade 1, only 34 completed grade 9.). Drop rate was however, higher at the secondary level than elementary. This was because many girls got married while in their mid-teens (although the legal age for marriage is 18 years by law, people do not pay any attention to it, and the law is rarely enforced unless there is an appeal by an individual or institution), and many girls who were not doing very well in school were taken away from school to lend a helping hand to the busy mother at household work. A great majority of boys were forced by financial necessity to provide support to their fathers in the farm or in other jobs. Nevertheless, there were some high school graduates who were working in nearby government offices and a few even went to university.

[4*] Age-wise and sex wise breakdown figures including other information about the village were supplied by the local AEC instructor and were approximate figures only.

The Instructor and the AEC

The instructor for this Behura Sahi Adult Education Centre was Ms. Kalyani Behera. There was no specific Adult Education Centre building or classroom and therefore, the instructor's own house was used for adult education class, although occasionally a learner's home might have been used as a classroom. This AEC was also an exclusive centre for women. The AEC had been functioning since 1986 and Ms. Behura, the instructor, was appointed in April 1988.

The total number of learners enrolled in the Centre was 30. However, the instructor informed me that average attendance was about 50 to 60 percent (or approximately between 15-18). Some days attendance could be even as low as four or five. On the day of the visit, there were only five learners in the class, which was being held at the instructor's house. I was told that many learners did not come to the class that day anticipating the presence of a "Baboo" (an elite who might be an official) because the supervisor for the area informed the instructor the previous day that I might be visiting the AEC, and the instructor in good faith sent a message to all learners to attend adult education class that night. This information cycle, however, backfired. Most learners, since all of them were women, chose not to come because of the social tradition of not sitting and talking face to face with a stranger who was also a male.

The Class

It was, therefore, a small class of five daring and motivated learners who came to the Centre, fully cognizant that they would meet an "upper class" male stranger in the class. The classroom was small, which could accommodate about fifteen learners although a few more could be squeezed in. The learners were to sit on the floor on mats and the instructor had a wooden chair. The classroom here had electricity. However, the light was very dim and inadequate, (people use very low powered electric bulbs because higher watt bulbs would consume more electricity, which was expensive) although better than hurricane lanterns. All five learners had primers in reading and math, and pencil and paper supplied by the government. The instructor started with simple numeracy (addition and subtraction) exercises which most of the learners could do, and then switched onto reading. She read a story and then asked each learner to read a small paragraph from the primer. The reading ability of the learners was poor and only two could read with difficulty (the instructor, however, suggested that the learners' level of achievement in reading was better than what was demonstrated and that they were very shy and nervous to read in my presence). The instructor seemed to be very apologetic with regard to the learners' reading ability as if she were to take the blame for such a state of affairs (poor reading ability of the learners) although I mentioned several times that I am not a government official and that she might be rest assured about the security of her job.

Discussion with the Learners

Since all five learners came to the class expecting my presence, they seemed mentally prepared to talk to me, if necessary (however, with much difficulty). Conversation with the learners was not very easy (because of shyness or nervousness or age-old social taboos or whatever) and answers to my questions were short and often unexplained. (I had to depend on my knowledge and experience of the situation and on the explanation provided by the instructor.)

All five learners were in the age group of 30-45 years. They were all married for more than 15 years and living with their husband and children. Two of the women's husbands had small snack shops in the local township and the husbands of the other three worked alternatively in their own farm (a few acres of land) and for the landlords as wage-labourers. Each of them were living in joint families with their husband and children including in-laws i.e. husband's brothers, sisters, and parents and sometimes other relatives. The number of family members varies between 10-15 in each family. These women's daily schedule included getting up at 5:00 a.m. in the morning and continuing to work i.e. to cater to the needs of everyone in the family, relentlessly and without any rest until they go to bed at 11:00 or 12:00 p.m. in the night. Their daily routine of work was: cooking four times a day (breakfast, lunch, tiffin or high tea in the late afternoon and supper, which is rather a never-ending process), cleaning the house, washing the dishes and clothes, taking care of children and others, and keeping up with everybody's demands and needs and whatever work comes in between. The only break they got from these daily household chores was when they came to the Adult Education Centre in the evening.

All learners indicated that they had very little support from their families and that they had joined the Adult Education Centre against objections from family members (mainly father and mother-in-laws), including husbands who think it was a waste of time for it did not lead to anything conclusive and tangible. They heard about this literacy program from the instructor who persuaded them, and their families, to allow them to enrol in the class. A brief account of the researcher's questions to the learners and answers given by the participants are noted below: These questions were not specifically asked to any particular learner (because she might chose not to answer). Therfore, any learner had the liberty to answer the researcher's questions. However, out of five participants, only two women provided some answers. The rest remained silent.

Q: When did you register in the class?
A: Four months ago.
Q: All of you?

A: "Yes".

Q: Who informed you about this program?

A: It was the instructor who told us and then helped us register in the class.

Q: Why did you enrol?

A: We were told that it would be beneficial for us. We could read books and keep track of money matters.

Q: Do you think you have achieved that goal?

A: Not yet.

Q: Do you feel confident that you will achieve that goal through this class?

A: I (we) do not know. Maybe if we attend class regularly.

Q: Don't you attend class regularly?

A: We wish we could, but some days we could not, because of work at home or when anybody in the family was sick. One of the learners replied like this:

> "The other day my husband was very angry when I came to the class. We had some guests at home and I cooked for them. My mother-in-law, my sister-in-law and everybody else were at home to take care of them. However, they all wanted me to stay at home, do some more cooking and serve everybody at dinner time. They told me that I am lazy and that I want to escape from work. Coming to class was only a plea."
>
> "I came to the class and everybody was displeased and angry at me. I was worried and did not learn anything that day. Hence forward, on such occasions I have decided not to come."

Q: Do you think you have benefitted by joining this program?

A: We come to the class, we do the things the instructor wants us to do, but we do not know of any benefits.

Q: Do you think reading, writing and simple arithmetic would help you in your daily lives?

A: No. Our lives would be the same (meaning thereby they would be doing the same household work for the rest of their lives).

Q: Does your teacher tell you to be free from superstitions, evils of untouchability, and how to establish your rights and perform your social duties as a good citizen?

A: Yes. She tells us so many things. But nothing is going to change. Nothing is going to happen no matter what she says. She (the instructor) says good things but who would listen to her and to us.

Q: Do you or did you receive any vocational training such as sewing or needlework, etc.?

A: No.

Q: Do you think you will complete the program.

A: We do not know. It depends if we get permission from our husbands and in-laws to do that.

It was not difficult to understand the social and environmental constraints against which rural women in general had to struggle in order to join the adult education program. They had no idea of the future benefits that might be accrued to them by attending the AEC nor did they believe it could change their way of living and living conditions. Moreover, they had to depend on the kind permission of their husbands and in-laws to attend the adult education class. The teacher's resourcefulness and canvassing had persuaded them to give it a try and join the program. They, however, expected that they might be able to read and write and do simple math which might help them taking care of money matters at home.

Discussion with the Instructor

The instructor of this Centre repeated most the comments made by other instructors in the previous AEC's such as: need for higher remuneration, need for essential supplies, shortage of teaching/learning materials, need for permanent centre and classroom facilities, etc. However, two major points that emerged out of this discussion and which were not highlighted before by any other instructor were the (i) need for and importance of persuading the learner and their families, to support the program and (ii) the need for better inservice training for instructors.

The instructor's job, as it unfolded was not only to teach adults only but also to do a variety of duties including using her own home for the classroom purposes.

Persuading the learners to join the Adult Education class and convincing the learner's family members (mainly father-in-law, mother-in-law and husband) to allow the learner to attend the adult education class were the most important, but thankless and unrecognized, voluntary work that the instructors do almost every day. This emphasized the need for resourcefulness and interpersonal skills on the part of the instructors. Recognition of these duties as an essential function of the instructor, might perhaps justify a hefty raise in their salary, including better working conditions and other benefits.

The researcher while observing the instructional process, deemed it necessary that the adult education instructors receive at least basic training in teaching adults in order to provide effective instruction to the participants. The instructor mentioned that she did not have any pre-service training in methods or techniques of teaching adults before she started teaching. However, there was the provision of in-service training for instructors for 21 days per year once an individual was employed as an instructor. The four days of initial training at the District Office for those who joined at the beginning of the program, and only those who could make it seemed to be inadequate. Longer periods of initial training and short refresher courses in regular intervals including seminars and workshops for instructors might be useful and necessary as suggested by the instructor. Asked with regard to the overall performance of the program including her own reflections, the instructor suggested that she was optimistic about the program and that the program might achieve it's goal of helping people provided certain conditions were fulfilled such as: creating a conducive atmosphere by proper classroom and office facilities, equipment and supplies, incentives and awards for attending and completing the program, better salary and working conditions for teachers, and appropriate and adequate supply of teaching/learning materials, including periodical inservice facilities for professional development and training.

6.7 GENERAL FINDINGS OF THE FIELD VISITS

The information that was obtained from the field visit was that: the Adult Education Centres were poorly equipped with less than adequate physical facilities for the continuation of adult learning. Office space and classroom facilities were the most immediate needs with necessary supplies of materials and equipment. Teaching/learning materials were found to be in short supply and primers in local dialect had not been developed or were not available. The classroom situation was pathetic and not suitable for learning -- least of all adult learning. The minimal needs of the instructors and supervisors in order to function properly and efficiently were not fulfilled with supplies such as: a flashlight, an umbrella, a pair of knee high rubber shoes to be used in the rainy season and, perhaps, interest-free loan for a bicycle.

Secondly, adult education instructors were found to be inadequately trained and were not even provided with the most basic teaching techniques of teaching adults. The functionality and awareness components of the program were completely missing and teachers were not qualified even to raise and discuss the functionality and awareness components of the literacy program; social customs, taboos and superstitions were still very much prevalent in rural communities and participants in the adult education program were not free from this social malaise.

Thirdly, there was an urgent need for significantly increasing the salary of instructors to a respectable level and assuring them of their job security. Job security and increased salary were believed to boost the morale of the instructors and provide them the much needed incentive of continuity and stability in their career. This would attract qualified and able instructors to do the job. With the increase in salary, it might be a good idea to make the instructor's position a full-time job rather than part-time work. Half of the instructor's time during the day time may be devoted to canvassing, resource development, and preparatory work for the evening class.

Finally, there was the issue of learners' motivation. Award of a certificate or some kind of tangible recognition could be given to the learners to motivate them to attend regularly and complete the program. Many adult learners expressed this view. Hot snacks for adult learners might also be an excellent idea. This would provide incentive for attendance as well as for creating a more conducive learning atmosphere. Learning could not take place if participants were hungry and come to adult education class with an empty stomach.

The message that emerged was that the Adult Education Programs were far from being effective and they had a long way to go in order to reach the ordinary people and help them improve their lives. People were slow and sceptical in recognizing the benefits of adult education in real life situations. The challenge, therefore, was to identify and recognize problems of the program and develop a more effective delivery system, keeping in view the reality of the situation and the needs of its vast clientele.

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CHAPTER VII

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

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7.1 NAEP: REVIEW OF PROGRESS, 1978-85

So far we have discussed the record of the NAEP in terms of its originally planned and later revised goal targets in participant coverage during the Sixth Plan period. However, our discussion would remain incomplete if we do not review the Outline of the NAEP (which promised a lot of things) in order to find out how many of the promises and stated objectives of the outline were fulfilled at the end of the Sixth Five-year Plan. In order to do that, we will list the objectives of the Outline sequentially and will try to compare them with the performance achieved at the end of the Sixth Plan.

The first promise of the NAEP Policy Statement was that "Adult Education should emphasize imparting of literacy skills to persons belonging to the economically and socially deprived sections of the Society". Assuming that the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes (both groups are untouchables) and women are the major target groups who are economically and socially deprived, and to whom the NAEP intended to provide literacy skills, data suggests that the total number of adults enrolled between October 1978 and 31 January, 1980 was approximately 3.3 million (3,233,088) out of which 2,080,136 or 64.3 percent were males and 1,152,952 or 35.7 percent were women. Therefore, total coverage of women during this period was slightly over 35 percent which is a modest achievement by any account. Total enrolment of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes during this period was 612,737 and 487,081 respectively which constituted 19 percent and 15 percent of the total enrolment and combinedly it constituted 34 percent of coverage for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes which is again good considering the difficulty of persuading these people to join the program.

During the period 1978-79 up to December 1984, the total number of learners enrolled under the program was 20.73 millions out of which 11.43 million were males and 9.3 millions were females. The percentage of enrolment of women in relation to total participants was approximately 45 percent. Enrolment of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes was 5.53 million (or approximately 27 percent) and 3.54 million (or approximately 17 percent) respectively. Therefore, the above data suggests that while women's enrolment was 45 percent, combined figures of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes participation stood at nearly 44 percent. Again these achievements in terms of the original mandate of catering to the needs of the disadvantaged were modest, but worthwhile.

The Policy Statement mentioned that adult education while emphasizing acquisition of literacy skills should also be:

- Relevant to the environment and learners needs;
- Flexible regarding duration, time location, instructional arrangements etc.;
- Diversified in regard to curriculum, teaching and learning materials and methods; and
- Systematic in all aspects of organization[1]

Let us focus our attention to see if the objectives of the policy statement were fulfilled.

Was the NAEP Relevant to the Environment and Learner's Needs?

The NAEP continued to be a drive for literacy and as such the primary thrust remained acquisition of literacy and numeracy. Need based functional training according to local and individual choice and requirement was marginal and most cases nonexistent. Even in acquisition literacy skills, very little attention was given to environment and learners needs because the curriculum was structured and learners were expected to complete the program within a specific period time i.e. to finish the literacy program in 300-350 hours of instruction stretching over a period of about 10 months. Therefore, all told, although attempts were made to tailor the program according to the environment and learner's needs, they were not achieved in real terms.

The researcher's visit to some Adult Education Centres revealed that the program had little, if any, relevance to either the environment or the learners' needs. Training in vocational skills and social awareness which were supposed to have significant bearing on the day-to-day functioning of the adult learners, was almost non-existent. Even literacy education was inadequate and faulty. The programs did not arouse much interest among the participants and the environment in which literacy classes was held was pitiful, let alone tailored according to the needs of the learners.

In an informal discussion, the Secretary of Education, Government of India, mentioned that the government had tried its best to make the program relevant to the learner's environment and needs. However, it was not an easy thing to do. Given the existing social realities in India, any program for the mass that aims at providing services according to the individual needs of the learners must be euphoric. Therefore, "Relevant to the environment and learners needs" must not be taken too literally, rather it may be viewed in this spirit that the government had taken a stand to cater to the collective needs of the learners as much as possible. Later, the Secretary General of the Indian Adult Education Association, with whom the researcher had an interview, brushed off the comments of the Education Secretary and suggested that the government was perhaps unaware of the formidable task it was undertaking. The NAEP was too ambitious a plan to implement and the government knew it. Nevertheless, it wanted to make big and unreal promises for political expediency. Naturally, there had been short falls and frustrations in spite of our best efforts. In order to make the program relevant to the environment and learners needs, enormous financial resources, time and efforts were needed.

Was the NAEP Flexible?

With regard to flexibility of duration, time, location and instructional arrangements, available data backed by the field study suggests that this aspect of the program was mostly fulfilled. For example, it was left to the instructors to decide the number of hours of instruction for each day (however aiming at providing 300-350 hours of instruction in 10 months) and the time of instruction (evening classes on weekdays, and noontime or evening classes on weekends etc.) according to the convenience of both the learners and the instructors. While a typical adult education class might function between 7-9 p.m. in the evening, it could vary according to the convenience of learners and instructors between 6-10 p.m. Similar flexibility in location and instructional arrangements was also observed. The instructors in consultation with the learners were free to select the location of the class. It was so because, most Adult Education Centres did not have adequate classroom facilities and that it was convenient to organize the class in either the instructor's house or one of the participant's house in a particular village as agreed upon by the instructor and the participants.

The researcher's visit to Adult Education centres in Sukinda Block in the province of Orissa, India in August 1988, and observations with regard to the functioning of the Centre and discussion with instructors, supervisors and participants revealed that the instructors had a great deal of flexibility and freedom over the duration, time, location and instructional arrangements. Discussion with the instructors suggested that the usual time for instruction was between 7-9 p.m. However, most of the days it started 15-30 minutes later although it ended in time. Some days depending upon the learning to be achieved or when there was some urgency of demonstrating participants progress to higher officials in their visits, the class could last longer. For any given day the instructor had to wait for approximately half an hour for all the participants (or at least a majority of them) to come in before the class began.

Discussion with learners revealed that their late attendance or no attendance on some days were due to either late return from work, or some other family difficulties. Learners expressed their willingness and readiness to attend class, however, their absence or late attendance being caused by external factors often beyond their control. Many of the learners who were daily wage labourers and belonged to Scheduled Caste or Scheduled Tribe said that on most days they had to come to the Centre in empty stomach because either there was no food at house or food was not prepared in time because both parents were working. Many such learners suggested that the promise of a free meal at the Centre (or even snacks) would provide the mental and physical readiness and the necessary incentive to attend adult education classes regularly and on time.

A field visit to Barika Sahi Adult Education Centre in Sukinda Garh in Sukinda block in Orissa and discussion with the instructor indicated that adult education classes were usually held at the instructor's own house, and sometimes on one of the learner's house if facilities were available. The Centre at Sukinda Garh was a "women only" Centre with approximately 20 participants enrolled in the program. However, on the day of the visit only five learners were present. The instructor explained that there was a continuous decline in attendance because of the household work of women during evening time and the objections raised by the family or husbands of some married women who see no benefit in real life due to literacy training. Person to person conversation with these learners was difficult due to social customs and shyness (married ladies and even unmarried girls are not supposed to engage in conversation or even have eye contact with a stranger like the researcher). However, two women said that it had been very difficult to convince their husbands (both these people had small business in the local town) to attend adult education classes and that they saw no special privilege which accrued to them due to literacy training, although they were urged by the instructor to join the Adult Education Centre for personal development.

Was the Program Diversified?

The Outline of the NAEP (1978) promised to make the curriculum, teaching and learning materials and methods to be diversified. However, a glance at the curriculum would make it clear that it was less diversified and more structured. The curriculum was designed to be offered in three distinct stages. Stage I had to be spread over about 10 months consisting of 300-350 hours of instructional time that included basic literacy, general education and functional programs relating to participants' vocation, as well as some education on law, politics and political process that affect them in their real lives. Stage II was to spread over a year with about 150 hours of instruction time. This stage was part of the follow-up stage in order to reinforce the literacy skills obtained in the first stage and their application in daily life. This stage was also to include some training in science and technology, including introduction to elementary history and geography, upgrading of vocational skills, and knowledge of supplementary employment opportunities. The third stage was the second part of post literacy and follow-up activities intended for retention of literacy skills as well as achievement of a reasonable degree of self-reliance in literacy and functionality, and better appreciation of science and technology.

Therefore, while NAEP provided for some diversification of curricula within a structured framework, nevertheless not much attention was given to any other aspects other than literacy and numeracy. Inadequate pursuance of all components of the curricula was blamed on not having adequate teaching learning materials, not having enough time, lack of resources and expertise, and to some extent lack of interest and enthusiasm among the learners. The researcher's field visit to Adult Education Centres in the Province of Orissa, revealed that neither the curricula nor the methodology, was diversified. The instructors were following the structured curricula of the literacy education just like teaching children in regular classroom in a formal school. Part of the problem was that the instructors themselves did not know much about the methods of teaching adults let alone diverse methodology. Since many high ranking adult education functionaries were not professional adult educators, they did not have much knowledge or input with regard to either methods or techniques of teaching adults.

Was the NAEP Systematic in all Aspects of Organization?

This aspect of the objective was, however, not very clear. Did "systematic" refer to systematic and sequential organization of the program? Did "systematic" mean uniform implementation of the program? or did it mean that adult education per se in its content, curricula and application be systematic and organized? The outline did not elaborate, explain or clarify exactly what it meant by "systematic in all aspects of organization".[2] In the absence of such clarity it is difficult to obtain an idea about progress in this aspect of the object. Suffice to say that the implementation of the NAEP was uniform in all provinces and Union territories and so was the structure and organization. The content and curriculum of the program also remained uniform and well organized. The arrangement of curriculum was systematic i.e. Stage I functional literacy, Stage II post literacy, Stage III Follow-up and retention. The structure, organization and administration of the program in all aspects remained uniform in all parts of the country although local conditions and efficiency of personnel could have influenced systematic implementation of the program.

Did the NAEP Give Highest Priority to Illiterate Persons?

The objective of giving "highest priority in adult education to the illiterate persons"[3] was carried out with care and sensitivity. Even among the illiterates priority was given to women and Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes as the primary target groups. Therefore this aspect of the mandate was fulfilled. The aim of covering 100 million illiterate adults in the 15-35 age group in five years (1978-1983) however, remained largely unfulfilled. Approximately 20 percent of the original target of 100 million were covered under the program by 1983.

The goal which stated that: "The regions which have a concentration of illiteracy will also require special attention"[4] did not fare very well. For example, if we select four districts from the whole of India with the lowest literacy figures, i.e. Jhabua in Madhya Pradesh, Barmer in Rajasthan, Koraput in Orissa and Bahrimach in Utter Predesh (which had the lowest literacy rate in those provinces between 1971-81) available data would show that there was very marginal growth in literacy rate (in percentage) in one district only, i.e. Koraput, where the literacy figures increased from 15.2 percent in 1971 to 16.13 in 1981, while all other districts reported negative growth. Jhabua which had a literacy rate of 12.8 percent in 1971 was found to be sitting at 11.5 per cent in 1981. Similarly, Barmer had 13.7 percent literacy in 1971 which was decreased by almost one and a half percentage to 12.29 in 1981. Bordia reported 17.2 percent literacy rate in 1971 which was down to 15.57 percent in 1981. This decrease in percentage of literacy in four districts with lowest literacy rate between 1971-81 was due to two main factors. The first one was that higher population growth in these regions between 1971-81 had pushed the percentage of literate persons downwards although there might be some net gain in absolute numbers. The second and the most important message that emerged from these data is that perhaps not enough special attention was given to these regions (including many other regions) which have had a concentration of high numbers of illiterates as indicated by the NAEP Outline. The general assumption behind this argument is that with concerted efforts focused on selected regions with a higher rate of illiteracy, literacy figures would never had shown a negative growth in spite of higher population growth in those regions. It was therefore the failure to emphasize and give special attention to regions with a higher illiteracy rate that caused a downward trend in many regions in spite of the implementation of the NAEP.

> The Policy Statement on NAEP (1978) also mentioned that: "a pre-requisite of an adult education movement is that all agencies, governmental, voluntary, private and public sector industry, institutions of formal education etc. should lend strength to it."[5]

However, one of the major deficiencies of NAEP was that there was not proper rapport and coordination among various development departments concerned with adult education programs in order for smooth and efficient implementation of the NAEP. Many of the evaluation studies undertaken on the functioning of the NAEP reported weakness in this aspect of the program. It was reported by field level functionaries of the NAEP such as the supervisors, instructors and adult education coordinators that inadequate support and cooperation from other development departments involved in adult education activities and rural development programs, particularly government officials in higher positions, caused slowing down of adult education initiatives under the NAEP. Moreover, inadequate communication, lack of proper coordination among various departments involved in NAEP activities also caused delay, confusion, overlap, and duplication of work instead of lending strength to the operation of the NAEP.

Adult Education for Development: A study of the NAEP in Bihar (1981) for example, recommended that government departments and agencies involved in rural development and reconstruction must co-operate and coordinate their activities with adult education projects and adult education agencies in order to pursue an integrated effort in implementing the NAEP. The study noted that:

> It is reported that the functionaries of other government departments and agencies engaged in rural reconstruction are generally not available for delivering specialized lectures at Centres. They should meet and address learners from time to time, and make them aware of schemes meant for rural reconstruction. Some system should be evolved to get them involved in the NAEP activity.[6]

Did the NAEP Provide for an Effective Mechanism for Monitoring and Evaluation?

The Policy Statement also called for an effective built in mechanism for monitoring, evaluation and applied research. Although there were provisions for monitoring evaluation and research, very little attention was given in practice to any of these components. The monitoring system provided for the continuous monitoring of the functioning of the NAEP through: emphasis on content, quality and process, feedback for program improvement (a one way process - from the top as well as from the field administration), attempts to assure the value of frank and accurate reporting and through critical examination of the work performed by the functionaries. The Directorate of Adult Education in conjunction with provincial government officials and field workers, was to monitor the program at every stage. At the apex of the monitoring pyramid stood the Directorate of Adult Education (at the federal level) followed by State Adult Education Officer, district Adult Education Officer, Project Officer, supervisor, and Adult Education Instructors, each responsible for monitoring the program in their respective jurisdictions. However, actual performance would reveal that there was more monitoring and control of lower level functionaries by the higher level personnel and much less monitoring of the operation of the program. It continued to be an hierarchical structure of power, where higher level bureaucrats in each stage loved to exercise their power over the lower functionaries.

The researcher's field visit as well as discussion with supervisors, instructors and other officials in the province of Orissa confirm this conviction. In the Sukinda Garh Rural Functional Literacy Project, one of the supervisors indicated that he had to conform to the orders and/or directives of his superiors, no matter what, in order to please them, and to retain his job. He had to instruct his instructors to conform to the directives as given by the higher officials, and that he had no choice but to do that even if it was not reasonable. The same was true with other officials who had to conform to and please their superiors. This chain went on and on at every level of administration. Therefore, monitoring of the program was practically reduced to monitoring and control of activities of lower level functionaries.

Similarly, in the realm of evaluation, the Report of the Review Committee on the NAEP (1980) recommended:

- evaluation of learners
- evaluation of curriculum and learning materials
- evaluation of the training program
- evaluation of State Resource Centres
- evaluation of the management system
- evaluation of the functionary of the program at the provincial as well as national level.

In real terms, however, only evaluation of learners continued to be a regular feature of the program. Periodical evaluation of learners progress was to be recorded and reported by the instructors and supervisors at the field level and information with regard to learners performance was to be submitted to the Project Officer who in turn had to send them to the District Adult Education Officer. However, this useful provision seemed to be rarely carried out.

Evaluation of curriculum and instructional materials as well as evaluation of training programs was inadequate. Insufficient or unavailability of data support our conviction. The only documents that looked into both these areas is the Report of the Review Committee on the NAEP (1980) which suggested that concerted efforts must be taken in evaluating training programs as well as curriculum and information in order to maintain the quality of the program. It did not, however, recommend any measures to improve or conduct evaluation nor did it give any indications of specific evaluation studies undertaken in these areas. The Review committee however, recommended the NAEP curriculum to be phased out in three stages stretched over a three-year period which was later accepted by the federal government. Strengthening of the training program remained a vital issue for the NAEP. As one study puts it, lack of proper training of functionaries is a major weakness of the program.[7]

Although few and sparse, changes in instructional materials or introduction of new learning materials from time to time suggest that there might have been internal evaluation of instructional materials by the Directorate of Adult Education, Ministry of Education and Culture, or State Resource Centres, or by individuals (professionals) working for government, which were not made available to the public. Similarly, data on evaluation of State Resource Centres and evaluation of the functioning of the management system were not available which suggested that either there were no evaluation studies undertaken in these areas between 1978-85 or these might be internal government studies which were neither published nor made available to the public.

Evaluation of the Adult Education Program at the provincial level was undertaken by institutions of Social Sciences and Research, Directorate of Adult Education as well as other public and private organizations. Although evaluation of the functioning of NAEP had not been conducted in every province and Union Territories, nevertheless appraisal/evaluation studies focusing on different aspects of the NAEP was conducted at least in 9 provinces, i.e. Bihar, Gujarat, Maharastra, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Punjab and Orissa. Evaluation studies conducted in five states were compiled and published by the Directorate of adult Education in two separate volumes in 1981 and in 1990/ The first one is called "The Adult Education Program: Appraisal Studies in Bihar, Gujarat, Maharastra, Rajasthan and Tamil Nadu" (1981). The second one includes study on one more state i.e. Orissa and published under the same title as Volume II in 1990. Evaluation studies on the other three provinces i.e. Uttar Pradesh, Kerala and Punjab were conducted by universities and institutes of research and were published between 1989-90. It is, however, important to mention that all evaluation studies conducted in different provinces do not provide an evaluation of the functioning of NAEP in the entire province, as a whole. Furthermore, the majority of these studies dealt with evaluating different aspects/areas of the program or the agencies involved. Evaluation of the NAEP at the national level were neither conducted or reported during the Sixth Five-year Plan period (1978-85). This present study though not an evaluation study, intends to provide an account of the progress of NAEP during the said period and thus would be the first one in its kind to fill the vacuum.

In the realm of applied research some useful work has been done by institutions and individuals involved in NAEP. Therefore, the mandate of conducting research was fulfilled to a reasonable extent.

One other main promise of the Policy Statement was that implementation of adult education was to be decentralized, and the agencies of coordination were to be established. The government tried to fulfil part of its objective in this direction by establishing a National Board of Adult Education at the federal level and State Board of Adult Education at the provincial level followed by District Adult Education Committee in each District. Please see tables in Chapter IV for detailed information on the administrative structure as well as the monitoring system for the NAEP.

However, for the most part the National Board of Adult Education and the provincial Boards of Adult Education remained ineffective and peripheral in day to day functioning of the program. They were not very successful either in coordinating the activities of the NAEP. They were sidelined by the control and exercise of power by the Ministry of Education, Directorate of Adult Education and the Planning Commission at the federal level, and by the Directorate of Public Instruction (DPI) (Adult Education) and State Resource Centres at the provincial level. Therefore, except on major policy decisions and policy guidelines, the impact and voice of these Boards remained unheard and marginal.

All told, a glance at the review of the progress of NAEP during the Sixth Plan (1978-85) as proposed by the Policy Statement on NAEP (1978) would suggest that there was marginal progress in most areas of the program, although attempts were made to conform to the guidelines as stated by the government. Nevertheless, considering the vastness of the country and the magnitude of problems the country was facing and given the enormity and complexity of implementing a massive program such as the NAEP, its progress was praiseworthy albeit achievement was unimpressive. In any account it could be labelled as a marginal achievement, if we accept any progress as a move towards a better future.

7.2 ORIGINAL AND REVISED GOAL TARGETS

Complete achievement of original goal targets in any project is a difficult task, although not impossible. In a scientific and controlled research project undertaken in a laboratory, perhaps it is possible to control and manipulate all variables by the researchers and thereby try to achieve the objective although the results could sometimes be totally unpredictable. However, experimentation of an educational program on millions of human beings in a vast and diverse country in every way possible is not only a formidable task but a very difficult one. Nevertheless, the NAEP had set goal targets for itself to be achieved by the end of the Sixth Plan Period. Therefore, it is appropriate to compare the achievements of the NAEP with its original and revised goal targets in order to ascertain its degree of success. Achievements in this scenario is not to be measured in terms of achieving the expected goal targets, rather it should be viewed in terms of how much progress is made towards the set goal or goals.

The National Adult Education Program was launched with high hopes aiming at educating 100 million illiterate adults during the Sixth Plan period originally planned for the period 1978-84. The original goal was to provide functional literacy to 100 million adults in the age group of 15-35 between 1978-79 to 1983-84. The Policy Statement of the government on NAEP set the enrolment targets at 1.5 million in 1978-79; 4.5 million in 1979-80; 9 million in 1980-81; 18 million in 1981-82; 32 million in 1982-83 and; 35 million in 1983-84.

However, in spite of a change of government at the federal level in 1980, the goal targets with regard to enrolment under the NAEP remained unchanged until 1983, the year in which new goal targets were set for the remaining period of the Sixth Plan. Goal targets for the Seventh Five-year Plan (1985-90) were also projected in 1983. The reasons for changes in the original goal targets of the Sixth Plan were manifold. Some important ones that prompted the government to take this step were explained below:

1. It was thought reasonable to give the original Sixth Plan (1978-83) adequate time to complete its mandate by 1985 in many areas of development such as the NAEP which started in 1978 and many of whose policies, targets, and other provisions were either irreversible or very difficult to start all over new again in 1980.
2. The government waited to receive enough feedback with regard to the functioning of the NAEP before embarking upon a new goal target.
3. It was also deemed logical to set a realistic goal target after reviewing the achievement at the end of the original Sixth Plan ending on March 31, 1983.

According to the Census Report of 1981 and the projections of the Expert Committee on Population set up by the Planning Commission of India, the total number of illiterates in the 15-35 age group was estimated at 115 million. Assuming that about 5 million illiterate adults were made literate under the NAEP between 1978-80, revised goal target envisaged an enrolment of 21.5 million adults in 15-35 age group to be covered by the end of the Sixth Plan and projected another 87.5 million to be enrolled under the program by the end of Seventh Five-year Plan (1989-90). Keeping in view the financial allocations provided for adult education during the Sixth Plan and the quest of reaching 100 percent literacy in 15-35 age group by 1990, the following goal target were suggested by the government (by revising the previous targets):

TABLE 22[1*]

Revised Enrolment Target During the Sixth Five-year Plan (1980-85)

Year	Enrolment in Millions
1980-81	2.6 (Actual)
1981-82	3.1 (Actual)
1982-83	4.3 (Actual)
1983-84	5.0
1984-85	6.5
Total	21.5 million

Projected Target in Seventh Five-year Plan (1985-90)

1985-86	11.5
1986-87	14.0
1987-88	17.0
1988-89	20.5
1989-90	24.5
Total	87.5 million

TABLE 23
Comparison of Original Goal Target and Revised Target (Sixth Plan)

Year	Original Target of Enrolment (in millions)	Revised Target of Enrolment (in millions)	Increase/ Decrease (in millions)
1978-79	1.5	--	--
1979-80	4.5	--	--
1980-81	9.0	2.6 (Actual)	- 6.4
1981-82	18.0	3.1 (Actual)	- 14.9
1982-83	32.0	4.3 (Actual)	- 27.7
1983-84	35.0	5.0	- 30.0
1984-85	--	6.5	--
Total	100.0	21.5	-79.0

[1*] Source: Adult Education Program, 1984, p. 3.

The above table and figures made it clear that the revised targets aimed at an enrolment of 21.5 million during the Sixth Plan (1980-85) as against the original goal target of 100 million between 1978-83. The revised annual targets starting 1983-84 in many ways were practical and achievable rather than utopian. The first five years of operation of the program also provided useful feedback in terms of expectations which cooled down the ambition of educational planners and strategists for the NAEP which helped them take a realistic approach to enrolment and learner achievements. Report of the Review Committee on the NAEP (1980) also provided important feedback as to the progress, problems and operational difficulties of the NAEP in the first two years which urged the new government to revise the goal targets of the NAEP in realistic and achievable terms. It suggested that:

> More careful preparation is needed in the formulation of state and district plans. Preparations of annual projections, training of instructors, and greater participation of all priority groups. The duration of the program is too short and provision for follow-up activities is inadequate. The link between education and development components of the program is lacking. the feasibility of the program and the tangible benefits flowing from it are not clear. An uncertain program cannot be a mass movement.[8]

7.3 ACHIEVEMENT OF GOAL TARGETS

A comparison of actual enrolment under the NAEP between 1978-79 and 1983-84 against the original target of covering 100 million adults would reveal that only 20.68 millions or approximately 20 percent of the target were covered at the end of 1983-84 financial year. The following table would show figures indicating the goal target and goals achieved between 1978-79 and 1983-84.

TABLE 24

Goal Targets and Goals Achieved
1978-79 and 1983/84

Year	Goal Target (in millions)	Goals Achieved (in millions)
1978-79	1.5	2.17
1979-80	4.5	3.30
1980-81	9.0	2.60
1981-82	18.0	3.10
1982-83	32.0	4.36
1983-84	35.0	5.15
Total	100.0	20.68

On the surface, the achievement of only 20% of the target would seem a miserably poor performance. However, it would be very unfair and injudicious to judge the performance only in terms of enrolment figures without inquiring the factors that might have caused such a poor show. Some of the important reasons that caused such a large discrepancy in goal targets and goals achieved were:

1. The original phasing of targets (annual, as well as for the entire 1978-79 to 1983-84 period) were too unrealistic and to a great extent utopian. Planners either did not realize or could not possibly grasp the magnitude of the program in a socio-culturally and linguistically diverse country.
2. The first few years were taken as years of preparation for such a vast and massive experimentation, since there were no infrastructure available to accommodate such a program from coast to coast.

3. Neither the government nor the people, were ready for such a large scale operation although they were willing to participate.
4. Budgetary allocations were not adequate, more funds were required for better salary for field level functionaries, physical facilities in the Adult Education centres, advertisement, teaching learning materials, coordination, etc. Although it could be acknowledged that the program did not receive any major set back due to insufficient allocations, nevertheless more funding could have helped greater efficiency and better results.
5. Policies and programs under the NAEP were slowly developing within a broad framework. They needed continuous refinement and adjustment based on experience and innovativeness.
6. Reaching people in the remote and peripheral areas remained a difficult and strenuous task.
7. Field administration of the program continued to be a problem due to improper or inadequate provision of guidance and supervision, and monitoring and evaluation.
8. Adult Education functionaries were not adequately trained to handle such a large scale program. Most of the officials at the highest level were not adult education professionals and therefore, they had little knowledge, experience or understanding of the program.
9. Cooperation and coordination among and within development departments linked with the NAEP were poor which caused confusion, duplication, misunderstanding, and delay in releasing funds etc.
10. Many provincial governments could not implement the NAEP in full vigour because of their own priorities, and lack of resources.
11. One of the important drawbacks of the planning of the NAEP was that it did not provide and set forth any annual projections of phasing of the targets for each province and Union Territory and for districts within a province. Without such a set target for every province and districts, it was not possible to achieve the national target. Provincial governments and District administrations within the provinces did not function to achieve any specific goal. They were just implementing the mandate of the NAEP. Clearly stated goal targets for each province were not set until the 1983-84 fiscal year.

12. Socio-economic stratification of the society coupled with social malaise such as: prejudice, superstitions, caste system, religious beliefs, belief in fate, and years of subjugation of the poor and underprivileged by the rich and the higher caste people were additional negative forces which slowed down the progress of Adult Education programs. This was especially true in the remote rural areas where life was conservative and traditional and where the rich hold the power to trample the rights of the illiterate poor under their feet.
13. There were also problems in several key areas of the NAEP such as: its content and the curricula, the duration of the program including instructional hours, post-literacy and follow-up activities as well as the difficulty of producing adequate and appropriate teaching learning materials in different local languages and dialects to reach a greater audience.

The combined effect of all the above factors greatly contributed to an overall lower participation of learners in the adult education program annually, as well as for the entire period between 1978-84. The 2.7 million enrolment in the first year of the program which well exceeded the 1.5 million target could however, be accounted for a lower projected target for the first year as well as the initial enthusiasm for the program expressed by the participants and the adult education functionaries.

The first five years nevertheless may be viewed as the base years of preparation for such a giant program. Therefore, it would not be improper to say that by 1983 the NAEP took a solid ground in the country with modified strategies and goal targets based on five years of experience. The people, to a great extent, were aware of the program and were willing to receive the benefits of functional literacy through the NAEP. However, it does not mean that all was well and that the program was all perfect. In fact, it was far from that. Nonetheless the ground work for a mass movement for literacy was in the making.

Data also suggest a decrease in enrolment from 3.30 million in 1979-80 to 2.6 million in 1980-81. The change of government in 1980 caused change of functionaries and policy makers at the federal level affecting the smooth operation of the NAEP. Change of government at the federal level also precipitated change in government in many provinces within a year. In short, political changes at both levels of government was one of the major factors that contributed to the poor performance of the NAEP in 1980-81. Coupled with this, a drop in the number of voluntary agencies involved in NAEP also contributed to this shortfall. Many of the non-funded voluntary agencies pulled out of the program due to lack of funding. However, after 1980-81, a general increase in coverage was evident due to political stability and increased participation of adult learners in the program, particularly in the rural areas.

So far the performance of NAEP has been discussed according to its original goal targets as set in 1978 and the achievement during the period of 1978-83. It may now be more appropriate to tally the revised goal targets of the NAEP for the Sixth Plan period (1980-85) against actual achievement, during this period. The revised goal targets in 1983-84 suggested an enrolment of 21.5 million adults in 15-35 age group during the Sixth Plan period. Actual achievement was a slightly higher figure of 21.74 million (approximately 101 percent of the goal target). The following table would show a tally of actual coverage against the revised goal targets.

TABLE 25[2*]

Revised Goal Targets and Achievements*
1980-81 to 1984-85

Year	Revised Goal		Achievement
1980-81	2.6	(Actual)	2.60
1981-82	3.1	(Actual)	3.10
1982-83	4.3	(Actual)	4.30
1983-84	5.0		5.15
1984-85	6.5		6.59
Total	21.5		21.74

Data suggests and confirms that there was one hundred percent achievement of the revised goal targets. It was possible because the actual enrolment was accepted as goal targets plus the targets for 1983-84 and 1984--85 were substantially lowered to a realistic level.

[2*] Source: Adult Education Program, 1984, p. 3 and Dutta, S.C. (1986), History of Adult Education in India, p. 125.

Given these facts, it was not surprising that 100 percent goal target was achieved. It was also possible because for the first time ever goal targets for provincial governments and Union Territories were clearly spelled out for each province and Union Territory. With the setting of definite goal targets for each province, the NAEP became a program of action with a specific mandate and direction for the provincial governments rather than a program to which provincial governments could sidetrack or ignore. The provincial governments were under pressure to achieve their respective annual targets as set under the mandate of the Adult Education Program.

Table 26 would indicate the number of Adult Education Centres and enrolment under the Adult Education Program as on 31 March, 1984 and percentage of achievement during 1983-84 compared to the goal target for that year.

TABLE 26

Centres and Enrolment Under the Adult Education Programme as on March 31, 1984 and Percentages of Achievement During 1983-84

State/UnionTerritory	Targets* 1983-84 in Lakhs	Centres	Enrolment					Percentage of Achievements to Target
			Male	Female	Total	SC	ST	
Andra Pradesh	4.60	8120	159328	84039	243367	73344	33119	52.8
Assam**	2.23	7126	114441	103693	218134	24726	58873	96.9
Bihar	5.50	18132	344151	182781	526932	94779	141379	95.8
Gujarat	3.00	5874	106237	74049	180306	35507	48351	60.0
Haryana	1.20	4019	42573	71926	114499	30213	--	95.0
Himachal Pradesh**	0.30	1039	7788	13158	20946	6321	2990	70.0
Jammu & Kashmir**	0.75	--	24745	41624	66369	8732	--	88.0
Karnataka	2.50	10659	302193	117123	319316	**66258	13132	127.6
Kerala	1.00	3338	36137	57830	93967	33865	10666	94.0
Madhya Pradesh**	5.00	18052	334062	192745	526807	164490	166406	105.4
Maharastra	3.50	14186	185790	254129	439919	101363	86951	125.7
Manipur**	0.36	997	12961	14047	27008	862	14246	75.0
Meghalya	0.36	417	5214	3173	8387	--	8387	23.3
Nagaland	0.18	600	10001	7880	17881	--	17881	99.3
Orissa**	1.53	5699	100496	60324	160820	39867	52368	105.2
Punjab**	1.00	2447	27762	54889	82651	39444	20	83.0
Rajasthan	3.00	10588	224014	99740	323754	77020	68013	108.0

TABLE 26 (Cont'd)

Centres and Enrolment Under the Adult Education Programme as on March 31, 1984 and Percentages of Achievement During 1983-84

State/Union Territory	Targets* 1983-84 in Lakhs	Centres	Enrolment			SC	ST	Percentage of Achievements to Target
			Male	Female	Total			
Sikkim	0.15	634	7887	4997	12884	402	1391	86.67
Tamil Nadu	4.25	17873	156189	411613	567802	293072	8204	133.6
Tripura**	0.40	1660	18305	18847	37152	8430	13132	92.5
Uttar Pradesh	5.50	18056	327895	209659	537554	1055560	6970	97.8
West Bengal**	4.56	15458	26158	147076	408234	161637	47306	89.5
A & N Islands	0.02	194	1722	2052	3774	--	653	188.7
Arunachal Pradesh**	0.20	698	11329	7221	18550	54	17835	95.0
Chandigarh	0.06	327	2198	4629	6827	3361	--	116.7
D & Haveli	0.02	66	1698	302	2000	26	1974	100.0
Goa, Daman & Diu	0.08	75	458	797	1255	18	--	15.7
Delhi	0.50	1570	8798	35158	43956	11611	--	88.0
Lakshadweep	0.01	37	410	144	544	--	544	59.4
Mizoram	0.11	500	4719	8378	13097	--	13097	118.2
Pondicherry	0.18	891	8806	9118	17924	7252	--	99.6
Total	52.07	170902	274485	2193201	5042686	1458614	834098	96.8
%			54.5	45.5	100.0	28.9	16.54	

* Target is based mainly on three major programmes (RFLP + SAEP + VAs) while achievement includes the enrolment of all the programs.

** Data relates to 31-12-83.

RFLP: Rural Functional Literacy Projects
SAEP: State Adult Education Projects
VA: Voluntary Agencies

Source: Adult Education program: Policy Perspective and Strategies of Implementation, Government of India, Ministry of Education and Culture, 1984, pp. 36-38.

7.4 GENERAL DISCUSSION

Data on percentage of target achieved for 1983-84 suggest that most provinces and Union Territories fared very well to excellent except for Meghalaya at 23.3 percent and Goa Daman and Dui at 15.7 percent. Quite a few provinces and Union Territories such as Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Maharastra, Orissa, Rajasthan, Tamil Nadu, Andaman and Nicobar Islands, Chandigarh, Dadra and Nagar Haveli and Mizoram registered more than 100 percent achievement in relation to revised goal targets. Only one province i.e. Meghalaya, reported significantly low achievement at 23.3 percent compared its goal target. It was perhaps the political situation in that province along with the geographical condition of the region that caused such a shortfall. Meghalaya is a small hilly province in the Northeast corner of India. Many parts of the province are uninhabitable, and unreachable due to mountains and dense forests. Transportation facilities through public roads, railways are far and few and are not easy to construct or maintain. Communication facilities are poor. It is extremely difficult to reach small communities in hilly areas where the only method of transportation is to walk through the mountain terrains. Therefore, perhaps the harsh geographical conditions of the region had also contributed to slow down, and in many cases prohibited, effective functioning of the adult education program.

The lower achievement figures for the Union Territories of Goa, Daman and Diu is difficult to explain. Goa, Daman and Diu are a federally administered Union Territory. It is located in the west coast of India and was a Portuguese Colony for some time even after India's independence from Great Britain. Many of the inhabitants are Christians and belonged to mixed European race. Goa is also a popular coastal resort. Reasons for its only 15.7 percent achievement of goal target is not particularly clear. However, two factors could have contributed to lower enrolments. The first was the possibility of setting an unreal goal target (much higher than that was warranted), i.e. a projection of a larger number of illiterate adults than actually existed. The second explanation could be that since it is a resort area, most adults might be busy in some kind of employment with the tourists even during evening hours - the usual time for adult education activities. Due to this scenario, perhaps most adults did not or could not attend adult education classes organized under the NAEP. Lack of proper attention and guidance by the adult education functionaries or delay in release of funds or even inefficient operation of the program by the federal government might be some of the other reasons for its poor achievement record.

The NAEP was introduced as a package deal comprised of three key components: Literacy, functionality, and awareness. While literacy referred to basic education and competence in the 3Rs - Reading, Writing and Arithmetic, functionality entailed training in marketable life-skills. The awareness component was included in order to make adult learners aware of their sociopolitical realities including their rights, duties and responsibilities as a citizen. While the record of achievement and success only indicates the number of learners who participated in the program, both at the provincial level and for the country as a whole, it does not shed any light on the participants own level of achievement. Available data does not indicate whether the learners became competent in one or all three components of the program or were just enrolled but did not learn anything at all.

Unfortunately, many of these important questions remained unanswered because of lack of data and because of the unavailability of tools to measure achievement in areas such as functionality and awareness. While, appropriate and individual need-based training in functionality and awareness and its measurement, is possible on a small scale, it is extremely difficult to construct and implement such tests on a universal basis covering such a large clientele and involving such a large scale operation such as the NAEP. The NAEP itself did not provide any built in system for measuring achievement in terms of functionality and awareness. However, it did provide tools to measure learners achievements in literacy training. Even in the area of literacy training the general performance of the learners seemed to be very marginal. Studies on learner performance in literacy education conducted in different provinces indicated that at the end of the first phase of the program, most learners could only write their names and a few (approximately 30 percent) could read simple adult education primers. While about 50 percent of the learners who enrolled and stayed in the program for the entire period could do simple calculation in numbers, only less than 50 percent of them could read a simple paragraph and comprehend its meaning.

In fact, the NAEP remained basically a drive for literacy training. The curricula and the thrust of the entire training was on literacy and numeracy. The follow-up programs also reinforced and focused on the literacy aspect of the program. The functionality and awareness components were deliberately side-tracked, if not completely wiped out. The awareness component was the worst loser and received a cool treatment in the hands of the Adult Education functionaries.

The reasons for the neglect of functionality and awareness components were manifold. Some of the import factors were:

1. The NAEP curricula did not provide specific teaching learning materials in functionality and awareness components in its syllabi. It was left to the adult education instructors and supervisors to organize and provide training in these areas according to local needs. However, sometimes literature on awareness were sent to instructors from the District Adult Education Office to be distributed among the learners. That was it, and it was a mockery.
2. The instructors, most of the time, were incapable of providing training in functionality and awareness. Many of them, if not all, did not have the knowledge or the training to impart education in these areas.
3. Functionality remained as a personal choice, and training in occupational/vocational skills depended a lot on local needs of business and economy and the capability of the learners to master the needed trade.
4. Training in functional skills which required coordination of several development departments to sponsor and arrange qualified professionals to provide such training to prospective learners, was extremely difficult and sometimes were not feasible. It was also expensive to provide functional training in industrial trades and commerce. However, some Adult Education Centres, which provided functional training in life-skills in local trades, only provided them in a few specific trades leaving the learners little choice either to enrol in them or not at all.
5. The contents, methods and the process of evaluating awareness components remained a very difficult task and the program continued to be deficient in this area of operation. The problems were: What should be the content of awareness education? Would it include citizenship training and socioeconomic and political awareness only as intended by the NAEP strategists or should it also include education in eradicating

various social injustices and malaises? What about superstitions? What about prejudices? What about harmful social customs and traditions such as: dowry system; early marriage, untouchability, the caste system, religious fanaticism and so on? Where to start and where to end and what to include and what not to include remained a big question mark. However, the Report of the Review Committee on the NAEP (1980) mapped out a very narrow outline of the content of awareness. It said:

> An important aspect of awareness is that the poor should become conscious that to a great degree they can shape their own future through the interlinking of learning, reflections and concrete action. It should also mean an understanding of laws and government policies reflecting them, and a realization that unless organized action is taken they may continue to be deprived of the benefits implied in these laws and policies.[9]

But is that all? Is that all, about government policies and laws, that the awareness component should include? What about critical thinking and rationality? What about fighting against injustice? These are difficult and sensitive issues sometimes beyond the comprehension of an ordinary adult learner or even the instructor who was (and still is) struggling for a marginal income and survival. In the learner's struggle for survival, all these so called important critical issues remained very trivial.

Although the "awareness" component of the NAEP on its surface seems to be somewhat similar to Paulo Freire's concept of "conscientization", neither the policy planners nor the strategists viewed awareness in terms of transforming the passive learners into active participants in the program who would jump into the stream of consciousness in order to change the existing socio-economic environment around them. Therefore, it would be naive to interpret the word "awareness" in the Freirean Concept of Conscientization because that was not the intention of the government. It was not that the educational planners were unaware of the concept of conscientization. However, purposefully they preferred to label it as the component of "social awareness" rather than conscientization for they were perhaps afraid of introducing and reinforcing the revolutionary message hidden in the word "conscientization" to the volatile Indian audience. Given the Indian political scenario, where votes could be purchased from the starving mass with little bribery of money or other essential commodities of life, no Indian government in its right mind would dare to formally introduce and nourish the Freirean concept of "conscientization" to its millions of illiterate masses. This would have been suicidal for the government. In fact, the government intended to achieve just the contrary to what "conscientization" propounds. By "social awareness" the government meant that the adult learners would obtain training in civic education and function as faithful, responsible, and law abiding citizens. It intended to give the learners knowledge about the various government programs and facilities that were available to them which could help the learners appreciate the benevolence of the government, as well as help them benefit from these government programs. Social awareness education, therefore was certainly not meant to conscientize people but invented to make the people cognizant with regard to the social arrangements, political structure and laws of the state.

6. Due to the emphasis on the literacy component on the program, the other two components were naturally relegated to insignificant roles. In fact one of the major criticisms of the NAEP was that it remained primarily a program for literacy. The Report of the Review Committee on the NAEP (1980) as well as the Report of the Working Group: Adult Education in the Seventh Five-year Plan, 1985-90 (1984) both focused on this deficiency of the NAEP. For example, the Report of the Review Committee on the NAEP acknowledged that:

> The programs so far have largely remained confined to literacy. Perhaps the most crucial aspect of NAEP is the linking of adult education with development programs. This is not easy to achieve and ... it has not yet been possible to organise this link ... As far as the awareness component is concerned .. there is generally speaking, a lack of clarity among the workers regarding the meaning and content of awareness.[10]

Even the Working Group Reporting on Adult Education in the Seventh Five-year Plan also recognized this aspect of limitations of the NAEP. It suggested that:

> The program largely gave literacy skills [priority] and even the literacy attainments were very modest. An account of lack of coordination between the education department and the developmental agencies, the components of functionality and awareness were either missed completely or inadequately covered.[11]

The National Adult Education Program was, nevertheless, an ambitious program that visualized wiping out illiteracy and poverty from the Indian soil and improving the conditions of day-to-day life of the masses. Although the program remained theoretically optimistic, the socio-economic dynamics of a class and caste-ridden archaic society coupled with the inherent problems of the NAEP and a general lack of understanding and enthusiasm among the implementors of the program (which includes functionaries involved at all levels of the program) defeated the purpose of the NAEP. Seven years after the launching of the program, there was still massive illiteracy, stark poverty and the socio-economic conditions of the masses remained as desperate as it was seven years before. The poor remained poor, the illiterate remained illiterate and the standard of life for the ordinary people did not improve. True that some people were made literate through adult education programs, however many of them relapsed into illiteracy due to lack of adequate provision for post literacy and follow up programs. A few who retained literacy skills neither understood its purpose nor benefitted from it. No tangible socio-economic gains were achieved by the learners. Literacy training did not help them in finding a job nor did it improve their day-to-day life situation. Literacy per se did not help the illiterates, the disadvantaged and the poor to alleviate their socio-economic situation. Most of the assumptions of the NAEP, that it would create a learning society by wiping out illiteracy, that it would help improve the socio-economic conditions of the illiterate, poor and the under privileged and that it would expedite social progress and national development, proved to be greatly exaggerated or simply false. The only solace was that the NAEP created an environment conducive to future adult education programs by making the people receptive and aware of adult education activities thus planting the foundation for a long term commitment for adult education by the successive Indian governments. Adult Education Programs after 1985 continued in the same way during India's Seventh Plan Period (1985-90) except that the nomenclature of the program was changed to Mass Program of Functional Literacy (MPFL) in May 1986 which was again renamed as the National Literacy Mission (NLM) in May 1988.

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CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION & RECOMMENDATIONS

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8.1 SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS

The national Adult Education Program was an ambitious and challenging program. It was the most serious attempt by the government of India to consolidate adult education programs as a vehicle for the eradication of illiteracy and improving the socio-economic conditions of the illiterate and the under privileged masses. The NAEP was launched with enthusiasm and high expectations but was soon found to be encountering problems both in terms of its grass roots operation as well as it inability to motivate people to take advantage of the program. The multilingual nature of the society, the caste system, the bureaucratic red tape, limited resource allocations, lack of incentives among functionaries, lack of adequate and proper facilities at the Adult Education Centres and a host of such other factors posed special difficulties in implementing the NAEP. Given this background it was not surprising that the program did not achieve its intended level of success. However, considering the many hurdles and problems that the NAEP encountered during the period of its functioning, its achievement was modest, if not miserable.

The NAEP for all practical purposes remained primarily a drive for literacy training only. The other two components of the NAEP, functionality and awareness, were completely missing from the program. This was because most of adult education functionaries including instructors were neither clear about these concepts nor were competent to provide any direction or expertise. Furthermore, the various development departments who were supposed to provide expertise in vocational and functional skills to adult learners seldom provide any help in this regard. Many civil servants and bureaucrats who were in charge of implementing adult education programs in the field level lacked the professional background and training to competently handle an adult education program of such magnitude. They remained isolated and untouched, and away from the reality. They depended on the lower level functionaries for actual implementation of the program, who in turn also relied heavily on subordinate employees. This downstreaming of responsibilities filtered down to Adult Education instructors who were the real implementors of the program at the grassroots level. Yet these were the employees who were least paid to do the most formidable and thankless work. Neither did they receive a good salary or service security nor did they obtain any other incentive to be motivated and dedicated employees. They were not even supplied with the basic essential materials such as a flashlight or an umbrella, a bicycle etc. to function effectively in their jobs. The instructors used to receive an honorarium of Rs100 (equivalent to approximately $5.00 Canadian in 1992 exchange rate) and the supervisors Rs300 (equivalent to approximately $15.00 Canadian in 1992 exchange rage) in 1988. No matter how one labels it, whether as a honorarium or remuneration, these people were grossly unpaid. Given this scenarios, it was amazing that adult education programs were implemented with the undinted support and cooperation of the lowest ranking field functionaries, upon when the entire operation of the NAEP squarely depended.

Inadequate training programs for field level functionaries such as the supervisors and instructors was found to be one of the major problems of the program. During the field study in Orissa, it was observed and confirmed through discussions with instructors that the training they received was inadequate. Some adult education instructors were also found to be appointed without any training at all, let alone experience in teaching adults. Similarly, the appointment of civil servants and nonprofessionals to responsible positions in the adult education program, which required expertise and understanding in adult education theory and practice, seemed to be a dangerous precedent that not only hindered effective operation of the program but also caused some indifference between higher level officials and lower level field functionaries.

The content and curricula of the NAEP was also felt to be inadequate and the period of the program too long. The awareness and functionality contents of the program were weak and to a great extent, inappropriate. Each of the three phases of the program stretching over a period of ten months seemed to quite long for most learners. The poor and illiterate wage labourers or housewives did not have the time, patience or interest to continue in a literacy program for such a long time particularly when its benefits are intangible and questionable at best. Trimming of the time period would help retain participants and strengthening of the functionality and awareness components of the curricula would help arouse interest among the learners. Similarly, post literacy and follow-up programs were found to almost nonexistent, if any.

The diversity of languages and dialects spoken within a province seemed to be particularly problematic. Adult Education Programs were offered in the regional languages and the learning materials of the program were also printed in the same language only. For example, in Orissa all adult education programs were carried out in Oriya language, although nearly 30 percent of the people particularly Scheduled Tribes, speak different dialects and mother tongues. Such a scenario had excluded vast numbers of minority and disadvantaged groups to taken advantage of the NAEP. Therefore, there is an urgent need to provide adult education programs in locally spoken languages or dialects and not in the dominant-regional language only. The researcher was informed by high ranking adult education policy makers that steps were being taken to provide instructions and learning materials in local languages and dialects. However, it might take some time before learning materials could be developed and produced in local languages.

The use of mass media in popularizing the NAEP and its use as a tool to reach the rural people seemed to be extremely limited. Use of cultural festivities, local resources and various fold media remained untapped and rarely used. Even the National Film Board which could produce educational documentaries for adult education purposes seemed to be lagging behind in its mandate.

Voluntary agencies who had taken the leadership role in reaching the people through the NAEP were found to be frustrated due to their powerlessness in making the curricula flexible according to the needs of the learners. They were equally unhappy with the regular delay in releasing funds due to bureaucratic red tape, which according to them, had slowed down the adult education activities in many instances. The government subsidy of only 75 percent of the administrative cost of the voluntary agencies for the adult education projects also caused some difficulties for them to run these programs effectively.

Dropout rates were found to be high although participants' names continue to be in the attendance register for longer periods of time than warranted. Social customs and taboos, culture and religious beliefs seemed to play a significant role in inhibiting these people to take advantage of the NAEP. For example, women participants after getting married were not usually allowed to attend classes. Even older married women were prohibited by their husbands and other family members from attending adult education programs because it was viewed as a plea to get rid of heavy household work! The various social malaise such as belief in the caste system, dowry system, untouchability, fate and 'karma' etc. could not be addressed because people continue to give into them as their existing realities. Most learners even did not see any benefits, either socially or economically, to justify their continued involvement in the program. Therefore, the greater objective of alleviating the social economic conditions of the illiterate and the underprivileged and thus fostering national development remained a distant goal.

Field level functionaries who actually implemented the program encountered several difficulties such as: inadequate physical facilities including teaching materials, poor honorarium for instructors and other field level functionaries, noncooperation from other development departments and bureaucrats, delay in release of funds for program activities as well as the formidable task of persuading illiterate adults to join the program and convince them that enrolment in the program would benefit them, to name a few but important ones. The problem of dropouts and the lower enrolment of women (unwillingness to participate due to social taboos and to some extent the pressure of economic necessities) continued to be a constant feature of the program. Although total enrolment figures of males and females in the program do not fully support this contention (i.e. 56.2% male enrolment against 43.8 female enrolment between 1980-81 to 1984-85) nevertheless the trend was quite evident. More importantly, field visits to Adult Education Centres revealed that many of the women who were enrolled in the program attended the program only a handful of times. However, their names remained in the record for quite some time (i.e. until the instructors and field supervisors were convinced that the enrollee could not be persuaded to attend the program again). Similarly, enrolment of disadvantaged groups such as Scheduled Castes and scheduled tribes remained low during the entire Sixth Plan period (i.e. approximately 26 percent for Scheduled Castes and approximately 17 percent for Scheduled tribes with relation to total enrolment).

In a country like India where the struggle for existence of the poor and the illiterate has been a fact of the daily lives of millions, it is not surprising that the clientele for adult education in the productive age group 15-35 proved to be limited. Moreover, the federal political system envisaged significant responsibilities in the hands of the provincial governments with regard to the implementation of the NAEP and indeed put the program virtually at the mercy of the various provincial governments. Incompatibility of political parties holding power at the federal and provincial level not only hindered complete and full cooperation between them but also the priorities of both levels of government were often different. In spite of these problems the NAEP was implemented with diligence. There were mistakes and problems, but continuous efforts were made to rectify or correct the past mistakes.

Considering the performance of the NAEP and its actual functioning, it could be concluded that the National Adult Education Program was useful although it was not a great success. It was useful in the sense that the program created an environment in which its clientele were made aware of the existence of an adult education program for them and that it laid the foundation for future adult education programs in India. The difficulties, the failures, the wastage and duplications, the lack of adequate facilities at the Adult Education centres, and lack of adequate resources, all provided important feedback for better literacy programs in subsequent years. The NAEP, however, could not achieve its original goals -- of covering 100 million adults during the period 1978-83, of improving the socio-economic conditions of the poor and the illiterate and empowering them through education, training and conscientization. The inability of the program to achieve its proclaimed goals was not as much inherent in the program itself as it was attributable to its overblown public image and unrealistic rhetoric. Nobody explained this discrepancy in proclaimed goals and actual achievements better than Blakely, Hall and Kidd (1981) in their reference to literacy profile in the United States. According to Blakely, *et al* (1981):

> Publicly proclaimed goals and actual achievements are far apart... The public rhetoric of these programs is designed to secure legislation and funding from a [legislature] that knows little about its educationally and economically marginal constituents. The number of illiterates [in spite of government figures] is unknown and depends partly on definition... The Adult Performance Level Survey sponsored by the federal government in 1975 found that 23 million adults 'lacked important functional competencies' and 34 million more were 'functional but not proficient'. The Ford Report found that a hard core of illiterates, disproportionately members of minority [and disadvantaged] groups, almost never enrol in any of the programs designed to combat illiteracy.[1]

The situation described by Hall et al in the United States could very well explain the Indian situation as well. There were many to whom the message of NAEP never reached and, even if it did, they were never enrolled in the program for whatever reasons. Nevertheless, on balance, the NAEP was worthwhile given its significance for future literacy missions in India. To quote Mhaiki and Hall (1972):

> The success of the integrated adult education cannot be measured by its administrative structure. It cannot be measured by the high numbers of people enrolled in adult classes. It cannot even be measured by an entire nation reading and writing. The only measure of success for adult education must be development for the people as a whole and for each individual. Development... would mean that each man has a good meal to eat each day, that children have a better chance of living to adulthood, that one man is not suffering at the expense of his neighbour, that each farmer and worker has a feeling of controlling his/[her] own life. Only the improvement in the quality of life serves as a sufficient measure [of achievement].[2]

Adult education programs in India have, however, been trying to create an environment such as the one described by Mhaiki and Hall - an environment in which a person is treated with respect as a human being for what he is, rather than what he is not, a situation where each individual regardless of his/her education and social status is guaranteed of the basic needs of life and can live like a human being with some hopes and dreams for a better future. This has been at least the official manifesto of the Indian government. Time alone would provide testimony how distant is the goal and how long the people of India have to struggle to reach this goal.

8.2 RECOMMENDATIONS

Our suggestions to improve future adult education programs are based on the available data as well as our field study in India. Although suggestions and recommendations could be numerous we will be highlighting only the major areas of concern. It is believed that implementation of these suggestions and recommendations would significantly improve the overall effectiveness of the present as well as future adult education programs in India. However, before suggesting measures to improve the program, it may be useful to enlist some of the major problem areas of the NAEP as identified by the Expert Committee on Adult Education (1984), to which our research supports. Major weaknesses[3] of the program were:

- The program could not take the dimension of a mass movement because the involvement of local communities remained very marginal.
- The participation of disadvantaged groups such as women, Scheduled Castes and scheduled tribes continued to be low.
- Interdepartmental and intersectional cooperation and linkages with adult education program were either very weak or nonexistent.
- There was inadequate emphasis on post literacy and follow-up activities.
- The program could not create an environment to motivate the learners. A proper climate to involve all sections of population in the program did not exist, the mass media was not involved to promote the NAEP, and so the program remained very peripheral.
- There were inadequate incentives for field level functionaries (in terms of higher salary and other incentives) as well for the learners to participate and continue in the program.
- Insufficient attention was given to technical resource mobilisation and its decentralization.
- Monitoring and evaluation aspects of the program need to be strengthened.

8.2.1 Intent and Goal Targets of the Adult Education Program

If adult education programs intend to achieve its goal of wiping out illiteracy from the country it cannot remain as a peripheral and leisurely activity. Adult education must take the shape of a mass movement. In order to convert future adult education programs into a mass movement, greater participation of all sections of the community is needed. This can be achieved by the cooperation of local leaders, leaders of the higher castes and the rich landlords who in most cases either make fun of the program or oppose it because they do not like the idea of illiterate and underprivileged adults learning to read and write and thus building confidence to establish their rights. These people must be convinced and persuaded to cooperate and sponsor adult education programs.

Village level committees should be constituted at the grass roots level all over the country where they do not exist. In this committee the support and cooperation of all sections of the community, regardless of their caste, creed and social status, should be obtained. The help and cooperation of the local leaders should be requested in management of the Adult Education Centre. Such help would provide the local leaders a sense of attachment and pride for their involvement in the program. Ungrudging support of the local self government institutions such as: the village panchayats, and the office of the chairman of the block should also be sought. Leaders of the local political parties should also be requested to help support the program. In addition to these, all village youths who are attending secondary schools and up should also be persuaded to help the cause of adult education. It may also be an excellent idea to create a special cadre of workers who would periodically visit local communities and convince the local people including the rich and the powerful to join, cooperate and sponsor adult education activities.

During the researcher's field visit to India and his discussions with adult education instructors and supervisors in the province of Orissa, he observed as well as witnessed the indifference and noncooperation of the villagers in the adult education program. In some cases it was reported that the local political leaders and village youths of higher castes made fun of the program and the participants. In such a hostile and noncooperative environment adult education programs are bound to remain ineffective and marginal. One of the better ways to achieve support of these people is to give them the opportunity to be involved in the program and thus identify themselves as the well-wishers of the program. Without whole hearted support and cooperation of the local community adult education cannot take the form of a mass movement. Therefore, village level committees would be of great help to pursue and monitor adult education programs. Involvement of village Panchayats and enthusiastic youths should be further encouraged with some incentives such as cash rewards or a certification for their voluntary work.

Clear cut annual projections of goal targets (in terms of enrolment, adult education centres, involvement of voluntary agencies, allocations etc.) at the provincial, district as well as Block (an administrative unit consisting of approximately 100-200 villages) level is required. Such goal targets would help move towards achieving the goal rather than just doing something without any direction and consideration for results.

8.2.2 Greater Involvement of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Women in Adult Education Programs

Concerted efforts must be made to persuade women and persons belonging to Scheduled Castes and scheduled tribes to participate in the program. For greater participation of women, Scheduled Castes and scheduled tribes in adult education programs, detailed plans should be prepared at the Block or Tehsil (an administrative unit consisting of 2-3 Blocks) level (or at the individual project level) indicating the total number of women, Scheduled Castes and scheduled tribes to be covered in each village under the adult education program. Responsibility for enrolment of these priority groups should rest with the project officer rather than the adult education instructor which means that the project officer has to travel to these villages more often and take up this challenge rather than sit in the office aloof from the reality of the situation. Since the project officer has to function as an adult educator, a strategist and a persuasive liaison officer, it is necessary that the incumbent should be a professional adult educator rather than a civil service officer. One of the better ways to achieve this objective of greater participation of women, Scheduled Castes and scheduled tribes is to hire more women instructors, as well as persons belonging to Scheduled Castes and scheduled tribes to serve as instructors so that they can convince participants to enroll in the program. The number of women and Scheduled Castes/Tribes instructors as it stands now is very low (approximately 20 percent - this figure is a rough estimate only). Since higher caste instructors are in many cases unwilling to go to untouchables' houses, and women in general are very reluctant to talk to or even be seen by male instructors, hiring of more women as well as Scheduled Castes/Tribes instructors becomes an imperative.

8.2.3 Facilities Needed at the Adult Education Centres

A specific place must be available to carry out adult education classes and other activities in each adult education centre. The present practice of adult education classes being held in school/premises, or temples or in the instructor or pupil's houses seem to be difficult and detrimental for effective adult learning. Along with the classroom facilities, other necessary supplies such as: hurricane lantern, stationery, and teaching/learning materials must be provided to each AEC on time.

The need for supplying necessary materials and equipment to the field level functionaries is very essential. The supervisors and instructors should also be supplied with a bicycle and a flashlight in order to function efficiently. The supervisor who usually visits periodically 15-20 Adult Education Centres in a week, all in the evenings, during the class time needs a bicycle and a flashlight to reach these Centres in time. Normally, it is expected that the supervisor would arrange these things on his/her own. However, breakdown of a bicycle or non-functioning of a flashlight (a good alkaline battery may cost as high as Rs10 i.e. approximately $.50 Canadian which a good deal of money for the instructor whose monthly honorarium is only Rs300 or $15.00 Canadian. Also, it is definitely a deep financial hardship for the supervisor to spend at least a month's salary to buy a bike (a bik would cost around Rs500 and a flashlight Rs40-50) and a flashlight if he/she does not have one already or to take the alternative of either borrowing one from a friend if he is lucky. Otherwise the supervisor has to walk to different Adult Education Centres in the evening which most of the time is an impossible task. Similarly, the instructor who usually does not have an office and a fixed classroom and who has to travel to different people's houses within a specific area (where he/she may not be living as well) for conducting adult education classes in the evening also needs a bicycle and a flashlight. Certainly, he/she cannot afford to buy a bike and a flashlight if he/she does not own one with his meagre honorarium of Rs100 which means he/she has to walk to the Adult Education Centre, often in pitch dark, and come back the same way after the class is over. Given this scenario we strongly suggest that the instructor as well as the supervisor must be supplied with these necessary materials for them to function properly in their duties. Most of the supervisors and instructors expressed this view and the researcher's visit to some Adult Education Centres with the supervisor in pitch dark confirmed such necessity. Therefore, we recommend that adult Education Instructors must be provided with an office and a specific classroom with all physical facilities necessary for an effective learning environment. It is extremely important that proper and adequate teaching learning materials must be supplied to each Adult Education Centre. Also the government must ensure that teaching learning materials are translated into local languages and dialects for learners to understand the message.

8.2.4 Salary and Honorarium of Adult Education Functionaries

The study found out that there is very little incentive for the field level functionaries such as the instructors (whose honorarium is almost next to nothing) to work wholeheartedly for the Program. Similarly, the salary of supervisors and project officers must be increased to reflect their responsibilities, keeping in view the inflation and the salary of other employees working in the public sector. Therefore, it is of utmost importance to increase instructor's honorarium from Rs100/a month (approximately $5.00 Canadian at the present exchange rate) to at least Rs700/ (equivalent to $35.00) a month which is approximately the salary of the lowest ranking employee working anywhere in the public sector. This boost in salary is necessary effective immediately, to achieve any significant increase in coverage as well as to incorporate some parity in the salary structure of adult education workers. Without a fair minimum salary, Adult Education Pprograms are not going to attract able and efficient instructors who are capable of gearing the program more aggressively. Many Adult Education instructors with whom the researcher met and discussed the Adult Education Programs expressed the view that they would be delighted to see their salary increased significantly to a respectable level, that it was a shame to work for Rs100 a month, that they took it because something was better than nothing and that there was very little incentive to work.

Similarly, the salary of the supervisors must be increased to at least Rs1200 (approximately $70.00 Canadian in 1992 exchange rate) from the present level (1988) of Rs300 (approximately $15.00 Canadian). Consideration should also be given to allocate travel allowance to the supervisor, who travels extensively to supervise the functioning of the Adult Education Programs in different AEC's in his area.

8.2.5 Management of the Adult Education Program

Along with the increase of the salary of instructors, we also suggest that their employment status be changed from part-time to full time. The responsibilities of full-time instructors may thus be divided into two parts: half of their time during the daytime may be utilized for canvassing, persuading, convincing people and local leaders to cooperate and participate in the program including other administrative and resource building activities, and the other half should be invested for classroom teaching and such other activities in the Adult Education Centres. During the researcher's field visit in Orissa, many instructors expressed the opinion that they would be delighted to see their positions upgraded to full-time positions and they felt that they could do a much better job, if it was full-time.

A professional cadre for field level adult education functionaries should be established and the operation of adult education programs should be vested in the hands of these trained professionals in the field and not in the whims of untrained officials such as the officers belonging to Indian Administrative Services (IAS) or provincial civil servants. Decentralization of authority is required and more autonomy to field functionaries is necessary in order to implement the spirit of the program.

We fervently suggest that the District Collector and Magistrate, an Indian Administrative Service (I.A.S.) officer, who knows nothing about adult education but is in overall charge of administering adult education programs in the district must be relieved of this responsibility. The District Collector (D.C.), being a federal civil servant, usually does not have any knowledge or background in adult education nor does he have the time to pay attention to this aspect of his responsibility. The D.C. is often an extremely busy person involved in total administration of a district which includes revenue collection to relief distribution and taking care of every aspect of the district administration. The D.C. chairs the District Adult Education Committee, which is at the apex of the district adult education administration and therefore wields enormous powers. However, most often he/she remains absent from periodic meetings and important decision making process due to his/her other priorities. Given this scenario, it would be appropriate to transfer the overall administrative responsibility to the District Adult Education Officer (DAEO) who is involved in direct field administration of adult education programs in the district. It is also recommended that all District Adult Education officers must be trained adult education professionals.

It may also be of some help to develop a network of guidance and counselling services for the rural adult education participants. Local school teachers, community leaders and other educated persons of the vicinity could constitute a pool of counsellors with the Project Officer as the head of this pool. However, these counsellors or facilitators should be trained by the State Resource Centre specifically for this purpose.

8.2.6 Content and Curricula

All three components of NAEP, i.e. literacy, functionality and awareness must be given equal priority. The primary thrust of the program continued to be literacy only. This must be changed in order to give adequate weightage and attention to "functionality" and "awareness". Field level functionaries such as supervisors and instructors must be properly trained to handle these areas. Proper and adequate literatures must be developed to disseminate the message of awareness. Local resources should be tapped such as the department of agriculture, forestry, veterinary and animal husbandry, poultry and fisheries, small business, the village industry, as well as local experts in Arts and Crafts in order to provide regular functional life-skills to adult learners according to the needs of the local economy. Although some attention was given in this area much more concerted efforts are needed.

Contrary to the recommendation of the Report of the Review Committee on the NAEP (1980) and the existing policy of extending adult education courses to stretch over three year period, we suggest that it may be beneficial to squeeze each phase to 4/6 months instead of 10 months duration. This is necessary to retain the learners in the Adult Education Centre in order to complete the entire course rather than being a dropout in the middle. Most learners who are not used to being confined to 2/3 hours of classroom teaching in the evening would run their patience out soon and would not attend for ten months. On the other hand if it is for only 4 to 6 months it is comparatively acceptable to many learners to enroll and continue in the program until the end.

It will be of tremendous help to the adult learners if some kind of income generating skills could be provided to them in each Adult Education Centre. Such provisions are only provided in some Adult Education Centres in bigger cities where expertise in life skills vocational training are available. Such expertise and training could also be made available in rural areas with some effort because there are plenty of skilled artisans, craftsmen and experts in local handicrafts are available in the countryside. With some effort this end could easily be achieved.

8.2.7 Qualifications and Training of Adult Education Functionaries

Field level functionaries involved in adult education programs must have the required qualifications and necessary training in order to implement the program effectively and efficiently. It may be a good idea to set minimum qualifications for each level of adult education functionaries such as: instructors, supervisors, project officers and district adult education officer. While the NAEP guideline provided for "completion of a full high school course",[4] as a minimal requirement to be a supervisor, it did not mention any such required academic qualifications for any other field level functionaries including instructors. Absence of such minimum academic requirements and training for recruitment, while it may give the flexibility of selecting functionaries from a wide range of expertise, there is the danger of patronage and back door appointments particularly at the higher levels such as the Project Officers and District Adult Education officers. The researcher's field visit in Orissa (in the Sukinda Garh Project) revealed that almost all the instructors were high school graduates with a significant number of them having at least 2-4 years of university education. Given this scenario the academic qualification for the instructors may be raised to at least a high school diploma with some flexibility for women, Scheduled Castes and scheduled tribe candidates, and places where adequate, qualified instructors are not available.

We suggest that the qualifications of the supervisors should also be a high school diploma with at least 2-3 years of experience in teaching adults. Such a move will not only secure better and experienced persons to do the job, more importantly it will provide adult education instructors the necessary incentive to work hard and stay in their jobs for a career in adult education. The present system of appointing people from all walks of life with some adult education experience such as: extension workers, community service volunteers, social workers, National Service Scheme (NSS) volunteers, etc. does not provide any career opportunity and upward mobility for instructors who are the primary implementing agents of adult education programs and are at the lowest rank among all field level functionaries.

The minimum qualifications for Project Officers and District Adult Education Officers, with no experience in working in the field of adult education, similarly should be raised to at least a Masters degree, not in any discipline, but specifically in Adult Education or Extension Works. Adult education supervisors with a Bachelor's degree and a minimum of five years of experience may also be considered for Project Officer positions. Again such a provision will offer upward mobility and career opportunity for ambitious and hard working adult education supervisors working in the field. Since Project Officers and District Adult Education Officers are entrusted with the responsibility of training and supervising instructors and supervisors, developing curricula and learning materials and acting as the managers and coordinators of the program at project and district levels respectively, they must be trained professionals to help, guide and direct other field level functionaries. The researcher during his field visits to India found out that most of the Project and District Adult Education Officers were not trained professionals in adult education although many of them either had an M.A. or Ph.D degree. Many of these positions were also held by people from the civil service with no training and knowledge in adult education whatsoever. Such a situation is frightening, particularly when the success of any adult education program depends heavily on these people.

With regard to the training of functionaries, the period of the pre-service training for adult education instructors should be increased to at least two months from the present level of three weeks. Since most of the candidates selected as instructors would not have any previous background or training in adult education. A three week period seems to be quite inadequate. Similarly, the training period of supervisors should also be increased to two months from the present system of two weeks of pre-service training. We suggest that prospective supervisors may be given two months of academic training in theory and practice of adult education at the State Resource Centres (SRC) followed by two months on-the-field training under the supervision of the District Adult Education Officer. During their training period the instructors and supervisors must be paid their salaries in full. We also suggest that only professional adult educators should be entrusted with the responsibility of providing training to adult education instructors and supervisors. For this purpose, university professors and seasoned professionals may be used as resource persons rather than the present system of project officers providing the training regardless of the educational and professional background of the incumbents.

8.2.8 The Use of Mass Media

The use of mass media, such as radio, T.V., and satellite programs should be intensified to sell adult education program and its benefits to the public. Currently the (Indian Satellite and Television) program seems to be inadequate to cover the huge adult clientele particuarly people in the remote communities.

In this regard the following measures may be taken:

a) Adult education instructions could be offered through television including information on innovative teaching techniques, practices, and delivery methods for adult education instruction.

b) More air time and specific programs should be developed for adult learners, neoliterates and even for adult education instructors and supervisors in television and radio programs. Currently these programs are few and are not given any priority in primetime broadcasting and television network. These programs should aim at enhancing the knowledge base of the field level functionaries and reinforce the learning of the neoliterates.

c) Organization of exhibitions, feature films, socio-cultural get togethers, folk dance, drama, and puppetry, etc. should be encouraged in rural areas and the adult education functionaries must take leadership in this regard. Since India has a rich heritage in folk and folk culture these must be utilized to popularize adult education programs in rural areas.

d) Printed media of communications such as posters, rural newspapers and wall newspapers should be utilized to advance the cause of adult education in rural areas and to give an important message to villagers about the need and utility of the program.

e) The national films division should be provided with the funding and mandate to produce low cost films and documentaries on different aspects of adult education in order to popularize and sell adult education programs to the rural poor and the illiterate.

8.2.9 Federal Provincial Cooperation in Adult Education

One of the major problems that the NAEP confronted was found to be a general lack of coordination among the various development departments of federal and provincial governments concerned with literacy activities as well as their inadequate linkage with the development programs. In order to remedy these defects it is necessary to identify the ministries in which literacy constitutes an important component and then set up a goal target and a detailed plan of action on how to achieve that end. There must be coordinating committees consisting of the members of the development departments at the national, provincial as well as district level to coordinate the activities of these departments in fostering literacy education and functional training. Cooperation between the corresponding development departments of the federal and provincial governments is very crucial for an effective adult educational program. The possibility of regular interprovincial liaison in adult education either through the State Board of Adult Education or the State Resource Centre can be explored.

Therefore, literacy must be linked to development activities. Interdepartmental and inter-sectoral cooperation and coordination among development departments and bureaucrats involved in adult education and development must be maintained. Periodical meetings among officials involved in the program is of the utmost importance. These meetings, however, should not be only a meeting of white-collar bureaucrats wondering about progress statistics and building unreal strategies, but should also include field level low-ranking officials who actually implement the program, and who could provide important and practical insight and feedback for the improvement of the program.

8.2.10 The Role of Voluntary Agencies

Since voluntary agencies have taken the major thrust of implementing adult education programs all over the country, larger involvement of voluntary agencies may be explored. They should be given greater flexibility in designing and implementing the program and should be provided with 100 percent of the operating as well ad administrative cost of the projects undertaken by them. Also voluntary agencies which show excellent performance should be considered for long-term commitments. Also, funds must be released to voluntary agencies and all other organizations involved in adult education activities in order to maximize their effectiveness.

It would be of great help if a forum could be created at the provincial level in order to function as a clearing house for ideas and views, and as a facilitator agency to coordinate and facilitate the working of various voluntary agencies working in the field of adult education. This forum may initiate periodical public debates and awareness sessions as well as organize conferences, seminars and adult education workshops for field level functionaries working under the auspices of voluntary agencies.

8.2.11 Financing of the Adult Education Program

The most important issue involved in the success of any future adult education program is adequate allocation of financial resources for the program. How much more is sufficient or enough to implement a successful adult education program is a difficult question to answer. Perhaps success of an adult education program has as much to do with adequate funding as to other factors such as: the socio-economic dynamics of the multicultural society, the interest and cooperation of the people, the enthusiasm and support of the functionaries involved, the political will of the state, the support of the bureaucrats and so on and so forth. However, a minimum threshold of financial allocation is needed to see that the program is being smoothly implemented with satisfied and cooperative functionaries and a motivated clientele. Our discussion of the NAEP revealed that the field level functionaries need to be given higher salary and other amenities to perform their duties properly and that the adult learners might need some incentive to attend and benefit from this program. Obviously all these things require more money, i.e. higher budgetary provisions both by the federal government as well as by the provincial governments. In the absence of any device to accurately measure the amount of funding needed for adult education programs, suffice to say that the allocations must be high enough to cover all the expenses in all areas of the program and low enough to avoid any wastage and surplus.

8.2.12 Monitoring and Evaluation

One of the major areas of concern was lack of proper monitoring and evaluation of the NAEP programs. Since the quality, dependability and validity of the program depends squarely on efficient monitoring and evaluation, this aspect of the program has to be strengthened. While monitoring of the program needs to be tightened and intensified the evaluation mechanisms should be extended to include post-literacy and proper follow-up activities. Evaluation methods have to be sharpened and techniques should be developed not only to evaluate learner achievement in literacy education only but also to assess their achievement in 'functionality' and 'social awareness' components as well. However, the primary objective of monitoring and evaluation should be to find out ways to stop or at least minimize drop outs, wastage, and leakage in order to maintain the quality of the adult education program high and uniform all over the country. Also periodical evaluation of the program at each level - national, provincial, district and project level - by external agencies and institutions should constitute a regular feature of the future adult education programs.

8.2.13 Reducing the Rate of Dropouts

Heavy drop out rates constitute a special problem for the success of adult education programs. In order to minimize dropout rate and wastage, adult programs have to be relevant to the needs of the participants. In addition to this, adult education functionaries in cooperation with other developments should try to help the neoliterates find some kind of an income generating activity after the end of their training. Many of the dropouts with whom this researcher had discussed their reasons for dropping out of the program indicated that they would be more than willing to come back to the Adult Education Class and complete literacy training courses provided they are assured of a job after the completion of the program. Without such a hope, they are unwilling to devote the time, efforts and pain including potential loss of income during the period of training for no apparent benefits.

8.2.14 Post-Literacy and Follow-up Services

Post-literacy and follow-up services have to be strengthened. Since approximately fifty percent of neoliterates relapse into illiteracy every year, its importance cannot be over emphasized. The researcher in the course of his discussions with adult learners during his field in the province of Orissa, India in 1988 found out that very little attention, if any was paid to post-literacy and follow-up activities. It was also revealed that the duration of the post-literacy program of 150 hours spread over a year and the follow-up program of approximately 100 hours spread over a year seemed to be quite long for most adult learners. They neither have time nor the interest to continue in the program for so long, particularly when its returns are not immediately tangible in social or in economic terms. The instructors and supervisors also felt the same, i.e. the post-literacy and follow-up programs are too long to retain the participants committed to complete the program. Also production and timely dissemination of teaching learning materials and literatures seemed to be inadequate and unsatisfactory. Therefore, we suggest that:

a) The duration of the post-literacy and follow-up programs may be reduced to not more than four months each. This would ensure continuity and the opportunity to organize and reinforce the knowledge and information obtained by the participants. Also this would reduce the expenses of the government and would look to the participants as less burdensome and less intimidating.

b) Production of appropriate literature for neoliterates and their timely distribution to the adult learners must be given utmost importance. For this purpose libraries or continuing education centres should be established in every village where adult education programs are being implemented.

c) Local occupational and functional training should be provided during these periods in order to make the program practical, interesting and enjoyable, linking these activities to reading comprehension and writing ability. Literature in general health and sanitation, family and child welfare, civic and social issues, political awareness, information on science and technology, history, art etc. must be included as topics in adult education primers.

d) Neoliterates must be informed about their possible employment opportunities in the various local industries and small business after completion of their program.

e) Some kind of arrangements must be developed to create opportunities for neoliterates to enter into the formal education system if they like.

f) It may also be an excellent idea to open up the entire resources of the elementary education institutions for the use of adult learners - the way Tanzania has been experimenting with great success. This would mean that the teachers, students, and all the resources of the local elementary schools will be opened to adult learners to explore, and take advantage of it with the help and guidance of the adult education instructors. Adult learners could go to the school anytime, use the library and other facilities, could even sit in the class or even play with the students during recess time. This would give them an opportunity not only to appreciate the value of education but to get rid of their notions and fear about education.

8.2.15 Additional Suggestions

It is acknowledged that the following suggestions require greater financial commitment on the part of the government. However, the researcher believes that these suggestions, if carried out, would ensure greater participation of disadvantages groups in the adult education programs.

It is also very important to provide some stimuli or incentives to adult participants who often come to the Adult Education Class in the evening on an empty stomach after a day's work. Therefore, it may be a good idea to provide some snacks or other kind of nutritious foods to participants in the evening before the class begins. This will help regular attendance of participants (who would otherwise not attend because they did not have food to eat or food could not be prepared in time. or took some extra work to arrange food for the family) and reinforce motivation for learning. This would also solve, to some extent, the problem of late attendance or learners coming to the class after it is dispersed, thus hindering and distracting the learning process. Along with providing snacks or food, some kind of financial reward may be given to regular participants who show promise of completing the program. For the poor and the underprivileged village worker (most of which are landless wage labourers or people belonging to Scheduled Castes/tribes) the anticipation of a cash reward is more attractive than a paper diploma recognizing their skills. It would be an excellent idea to give the adult elarners a certificate of achievement if they complete the program with success. Such a recognition would reinforce the learners' interest in the program and would encourage them to participate in post literacy and follow up activities. One other suggestion which is also expensive and probably beyond the resources of the government, is to provide some kind of daily allowance to adult learners who would participate and complete each phase of adult education program with proficiency.

8.3 SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

A glance at the state of adult education in India would reveal that adult education has not fully established itself as a rewarding area of study and practice in India. The NAEP has, however, created an environment in which to appreciate and recognize adult education as a tool for social reconstruction and hence national development and as an emerging field for academic discourse and scholarly research and development. The NAEP has provided a platform - a starting point - from which one can begin the task of establishing adult education as a useful device for personal growth and socio-economic transformation. Also, the analysis of deficiencies of the NAEP will hopefully produce more concerted adult education program development and delivery methods. Furthermore, the researcher believes that adult education programs must be developed to serve people from all walks of life - rich and poor alike according to individual needs and choices - and that adult education must not be viewed as the Aladdin's magic lamp to empower the poor and the illiterate and fulfil their every wish. Adult education is a means to an end, not an end in itself. The researcher also believes that the fruits of research in adult education should be disseminated and shared by all, transcending the national boundaries. International cooperation in adult education is therefore very important. Attempts must be made to acquire knowledge and information about similar adult education programs implemented somewhere else and thus enrich the existing adult education programs in India.

The two most important areas where further research is needed are:

1. How to impart effective education in social awareness and conscientization to the adult learners, and how to evaluate or assess that the participating adults have developed sociopolitical awareness;
2. How to develop individual need based functional training and provide such training to the adult learners.

Our discussion of the NAEP has revealed that these are problem areas that need to be addressed because the components of functionality and awareness could not be adequately covered through the operational plans and delivery methods of the Adult Education Program. Moreover, conscientization and functionality cannot be treated as separate and isolated from each other, rather they must be viewed as the two sides of the same coin. For example, what do we seek to achieve by making the illiterate and poor conscious of their precarious socioeconomic condition? The assumption is that by being socio-politically aware they can take advantage of the various government programs and that they would be smart enough not to be exploited by others and that they would learn their civic duties and responsibilities. For a 'conscious' adult, training in vocational life skills and thereby engaging in gainful economic activities, is one of the logical paths to utilize his knowledge and experience to change his existing status. Adult education programs, therefore, must view conscientization and functionality as integrated and complimentary to each other and not separate and isolated. Extensive research is needed to strengthen such a link and assess it's impact on adult learners.

Immediate attention must also be focused to assess the real benefits that have accrued to the socially disadvantaged class such as the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and the women (since it was one of the primary goals of the NAEP) through the Adult Education Programs and restructure the program accordingly to serve their needs. Mere enrolment figures in adult education classes would not reveal the true benefits to the participants as very often is the case. A detailed national survey in every province and union territory of the real life situations of the participants in the aftermath of their literacy training is urgently needed. Along with this study, serious debates must be initiated by the government in order to find out ways to negate or at least neutralize the effects of a hierarchical and reactionary social structure, if adult education programs are to be effective and meaningful for the masses.

The two primary organizations for research and development in adult education, i.e. the Directorate of Adult Education at the federal level and the State Resource Centres at the provincial levels must step up their activities and take greater responsibilities for research and program development. While the DAE and the SRCs are free to engage in research according to their priorities and preferences the DAE must coordinate such activities in order to avoid any parallel research that would be repetitive and wasteful. It may be useful to prepare a list of research needs and each SRC may be assigned a particular research area of pressing needs. Periodical meetings, reports and links among the SRCs should constitute the network of research operation in every province and union territory, coordinated by the DAE. The DAE may be involved in research in adult education pertaining to national importance and matters of urgent needs. Academicians at universities, colleges and research institutes must also be encouraged to take a leading role in future research in adult education.

Study of the needs of the adult learners is the most immediate necessity of the existing adult education program. Survey of need assessment and methods of addressing such needs must be developed. Equally important is to develop curricula and methodology for imparting education in functionality and social awareness components. Training programs for the instructors and supervisors must be improved in order to make the program more effective, with the cooperation and active participation of the voluntary agencies working in the field of adult education, the State Resource Centres could develop model training programs for instructors. A similar suggestion was given by Rao, Bhatt and Rama Rao (1980) in their work Adult Education for Social Change. Rao *et al* (1980) also suggested that a strategy should be developed to improve the training program for supervisors that would include: (1) conducting village level surveys; (2) designing specific curricula and learning experience at AEC level; (3) selection of instructors; (4) gaining village participation; (5) recruitment of learners; (6) coordination with other agencies; (7) professional development of instructors; (8) follow-up activities; (9) motivating villagers; (10) monitoring and evaluation; (11) adult education: philosophy and perspectives; (12) use of mass media and knowledge of other learning opportunities; (13) case study of good and poor instructors as well as AES; (14) case studies of effective supervisors and; (15) information on recent developmental schemes of the government.[5] It would be an excellent idea to explore the possibility of developing a training program as suggested by Rao et al (1980) with major thrusts on: adult education, philosophy, perspectives and practices, use of mass media, monitoring and evaluation, follow-up activities and the art of motivating villagers to participate in adult education programs.

One other significant area on which the search light must be focused is the use of folk dance, folk music, theatres, puppetry and other local cultural festivities in the adult education literature (primers) and their use in promoting adult education. Adult education could be made more interesting and lively by including local cultural heritage into the curriculum. Although efforts have been made to popularize adult education through music, puppetry and dramatization, the possibility of using these as tools to impart adult education has not been adequately explored.

Improvement of the methods of instruction and delivery requires immediate attention. Similarly adult education must not be treated in isolation to other areas of study such as sociology, anthropology, education, economics and political science, etc. Interdisciplinary research should therefore be encouraged in order to find an answer to some of the pressing needs and challenges encountered by adult education functionaries. International cooperation and joint collaborative research may also be encouraged and patronized. Currently the Directorate of Adult Education functions as the centre for research and development including a clearing house for ideas and information. It does not have an independent wing or branch that specifically deals with international cooperative ventures in adult education. Information on International development in adult education are kept by both the Ministry of education as well as the Directorate of Adult Education with no clear mandate and with no definite intent or vision. The possibility of creating an international wing for international cooperation and research in adult education should be seriously examined.

The vision for the 1990s should be to create a learning society. Adult education and literacy training, if it intends to carry any credibility and meaning must provide help to millions of poor and illiterate people by initiating individual personal growth and social transformation amidst poverty, ignorance, illiteracy, and superstitions. However, poverty and ignorance, illiteracy and superstitions have been with the Indian society and perhaps they will continue to haunt the masses until a new social order is established. The important thing is that adult education has to create an environment in which an ordinary person can recognize his/her potential and live like a human being with a dream for a better future. Intensive study and research would have to be pursued to develop adult education as a way of life for all rather than viewing it as a remedial tool for the illiterate and the underprivileged. Academic research alone is not going to be enough in this regard. Efforts must be made to change people's attitudes and beliefs.

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APPENDICES

(A) The Federal Government's 20 Point Programme for National Development During the Sixth Plan (1980-85)

(B) Syllabi for Adult Literacy

A. THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT'S 20 POINT PROGRAMME FOR NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT DURING THE SIXTH FIVE-YEAR PLAN (1980-85)

1. Increase irrigation potential, develop and disseminate technologies and inputs for dry land agriculture.
2. Make special efforts to increase production of pulses and vegetable oilseeds.
3. Strengthen and expand coverage of Integrated Rural Development and National Rural Employment Programme.
4. Implement Agricultural Land Ceilings, distribute surplus land and complete compilation of land records by removing all administrative and legal obstacles.
5. Review and effectively enforce minimum wages for agricultural labour.
6. Rehabilitate bonded labour.
7. Accelerate programme for the development of scheduled castes and tribes.
8. Supply drinking water to all problem villages.
9. Allot house sites to rural families who are without them and expand programmes for construction assistance to them.
10. Improve the environment of slums, implement programme of house building for economically weaker section and take measures to arrest unwarranted land prices.
11. Maximize power generation, improve the function of electricity authorities and electrify all villages.
12. Pursue vigorously programmes of the aforementioned, social and farm forestry and the development of bio-gas and other alternative energy sources.
13. Promote family planning on a voluntary basis as a people's movement.
14. Substantially augment universal primary health care facilities and control of leprosy, T.B. and blindness.
15. Accelerate programme of welfare for women and children and nutrition programmes for pregnant women, nursing mothers and children specially in tribal, hill and backward areas.
16. Spread universal elementary education for the age group of 6-14 with special emphasis on girls, and simultaneously involve students and voluntary agencies in the programmes for removal of adult illiteracy.
17. Expand the public distribution system through more fair price shops, including mobile shops in far flung areas and shops to cater to industrial workers, students' hostels, and

make available to students text books on a priority basis and to promote a strong consumer protection movement.

18. Liberalism investment procedures and streamline industrial policies to ensure timely completion of projects. Give handicrafts, handlooms, small and village industries all facilities to grow and to update their technology.

19. Continue strict action against smugglers, hoarders and tax evaders and check black money.

20. Improve the working of the public enterprises by increasing efficiency, capacity, utilization and the generation of internal resources.

B. SYLLABI FOR ADULT LITERACY[1]

First Test (Stage) in Social Education
(Adopted from Bombay Syllabus)

Language
(Reading)

Reading any primer and any simple book (not very different from the Departmental First Reader). Reading the headlines of the newspapers and simple sentences clearly written on the blackboard. Conjunct consonants of most frequent occurrence need only be introduced.

Writing

Writing simple sentences with common words, not containing conjunct consonants; signing one's own name, and writing one's full name and address, as also names of nearest relatives and things commonly used. Writing a short letter containing simple everyday news. The adult should be able to write each word separately. Use of full point.

Arithmetic

1. Simple Arithmetic

(a) Counting up to 100 (arranging groups of 10 up to 100).
(b) Writing and reading numbers up to 100.
(c) Multiplication tables of 2x5, 3x5 and 4x5 only.
(d) Idea of a fraction: ½, ¼, ¾. Writing these in the reghi symbols.
(e) Adding and subtracting of numbers up to 20 only.

2. Practical Arithmetic

1. Idea and recognition of:

(a) All coins and currency notes up to Rs.10.

(b) Seer, Tola, Paylee, etc. (the local weights and measures). The adult should be able to find the weight of a given thing and to weigh a thing of a given weight.

(c) He should be able to measure grain by payless and seers and keep a note of the quantity measured.

(d) A yard, a foot and an inch. He should be able to measure the length of a given piece of cloth.

(e) In rural areas, he should have a rough idea of a bigha and an acre.

2. Giving change for rupee after deducting a given amount.

3. Simple calculations required impractical life with the help of tables already studied.

From: *Teacher's Handbook of Social Education*, Ministry of Education, Government of India, 1955.

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[1]* Excerpt from Towards a Comprehensive Adult Education Program, 1983, pp. 97-102.

Functional Literacy for Adult Women (under ICDS)

Duration of the Programme

1. The total duration of the course is envisaged to be 250 hours. In the initial stage the emphasis, will be on imparting initial literacy and numeracy skills which will be integrated, with the curriculum content as given. In the later stage efforts will be made for reinforcement of literacy skills and continuing education. It will be desirable to motivate women to devote some time every day to home practice of literacy skills.

The Curriculum Objectives

2. The Curriculum of functional literacy for women has to be so oriented:

   (a) That it helps women improve the quality of their life and contribute to the task of nation building;

   (b) That it helps to bring about the desired awareness of the need for promoting maternal and child health and stimulate active participation; and

   (c) That it provides necessary literacy skills and learning abilities to deal effectively with their life and working situations.

3. The curriculum will, therefore, take into consideration the learning needs of the women as they relate to their home and family in general and maternal and child health in particular. It will also integrate literacy skills in a manner that they become an essential part of the process of learning and solving their problems.

4. The curriculum will also take cognizance of the environmental forces in the midst of which the learners live and work, as well as their background in terms of their general awareness, values, attitudes, vocabulary, linguistic capabilities, economic status, social orientation, occupation, etc.

The Curriculum Content

5. Keeping in view the objectives of the Functional Literacy Scheme and the ICDS Scheme the curriculum content of functional literacy is classified into seven subject areas, namely.

   1) Environmental orientation and participation in civic and community activities
   2) Maternity care and family planning
   3) Child development and child care
   4) Food and nutrition
   5) Health and hygiene
   6) Home and family life, and
   7) Economic improvement

Though it is not intended to adopt any rigid pattern for the distribution of 250 hours amongst different content areas the following tentative distribution is indicated as a guideline:

	Hours
1) Environmental Orientation	35
2) Maternity care and family planning	45
3) Child development and child care	55
4) Food and Nutrition	30
5) Health and Hygiene	30
6) Home and Family Life	25
7) Economic Improvement	30
	250

6. Each area is further elaborated to focus on the crucial concerns of women in that area. Each learning unit will have to be dealt with in terms

of the learners perceptions and the existing situation. The learning process will proceed from gaining awareness and understanding of the issues to acquiring knowledge and know-how related to (a) value, attitude and behavior, (b) socio-economic aspects, (c) scientific explanation, (d) working habits; to change in behavior and action.

The Sequences of the Curriculum

7. It is not necessary to follow any rigid pattern of sequence. However, in the initial stages when literacy and numeracy skills are to be imparted, some pre-determined sequence followed in the reading material has to be used. It is important to keep in view the interdisciplinary of the subjects and while dealing with any particular unity various aspects should be dealt with simultaneously. Keeping in view the inter and intra-disciplinary of the content areas the sequence may be built up.

Literacy and Numeracy

8. The total course duration may be divided into two stages - Initial Stage: Imparting of basic literacy and numeracy skills Reinforcement State: Reinforcement of Literacy skills and continuing education.

Initial Stage (3 to 5 months)	Imparting of basic literacy and numeracy skills

9. The basic course in literacy skills will concentrate on acquisition of reading, writing, and simple numeracy skills through specially prepared teaching/learning materials related to ICDS Programme. The achievements in literacy and numeracy skills may be of the following level:

Reading

(a) Deciphering of simple words, reading of short sentences and simple messages and understanding their meaning.

(b) Reading with understanding simple material on topics of health and hygiene, nutrition, home management, child development and family planning, reading ability to be at least 30 words per minute.

(c) Acquiring critical ability so as to react to what is read and comprehended.

Writing

(a) Copying with comprehension given sentences; writing ability to be at least eight to ten words per minute,

(b) Writing simple words and sentences on their own,

(c) Ability to express ideas through simple writing and,

(d) Writing numbers up to hundred.

Numeracy

(a) Counting up to hundred,

(b) Knowledge of weight and measurement units and calculations related to them and,

(c) Simple additions and subtractions.

Reinforcement Stage

Reinforcement of Literacy Skills and Continuing Education

10. The main aim of this stage is to provide exercise in reading and writing in order to make these skills permanent tools of learning. The intention is to train in using these skills for improving their knowledge and solving their personal problems. The level of proficiency to be achieved in language and numeracy will include:

Reading

(a) Reading simple literature on topics related with family health, care of children and other concerns of women,

(b) Reading neo-literate literature specifically meant for women,

(c) Reading - with understanding labels, notices, road signs, advertisements, simple instructions, news, etc.

Writing

(a) Copying legibly,

(b) Keeping records such as health record of children, family budget, daily account, etc.

(c) Writing independently simple and short letters, applications, filling of cheques and forms, etc.

Numeracy

(a) Doing simple additions, subtractions, multiplications and divisions,

(b) Maintaining saving bank pass book and account,

(c) Learning to measure and write down the weights of different ingredients,

(d) Workable knowledge of decimal coinage system, metric weight system, metric measurement system and simple calculations related with them,

(e) Idea of proportion and its use in different household jobs.

Farmers Functional Literacy Programme

Phase - 1

Reading

- Loud reading of the First Book (which is a primer-cum-first reader) with fluency and a speed of about 25 words per minute and without spelling out letters of the word read.
- Reading with comprehension of simple sentences clearly written on blackboard, captions in the posters and advertisements on agriculture, labels in large-size letters, on the bottles and bags etc.
- Words with conjunct consonants of most frequent occurrence.
- Ability to comprehend the immediate meaning of what is read especially the simple matter on modern practices and new methods in the cultivation of high varieties of crops.

- Vocabulary development - ability to read and comprehend about 500 most commonly used words including about 100 commonly used technical words relating to farming.

Writing

- Writing of words (without conjunct) and simple sentences with words commonly used in farming occupation.
- Transcription from black board or a book, of words and sentences related to H.Y.V. Programmes.
- Writing of names and addresses, names of object, implements and things of commonly used in home and in farming.
- Writing to dictation of simple words and easy sentences from lessons in the First Book and already learnt.
- Writing of simple messages.
- Filling in of input-card specially prepared in simple language.
- Punctuation use of full point.

Arithmetic

- Counting, writing and reading of numbers 1 to 1000.
- Understanding and writing of units, tens and hundred.
- Simple addition and subtraction, use of plus (+) and minus (-) signs.
- Multiplication tables up to 10.
- Simple fractions: ½, ¼, and ¾.
- Knowledge of weights, measures, areas and volumes and time.

Practical Work

- Knowledge of currency.
- Simple calculations required in practical life with the help of tables studied.
- Filling in of input-card and simple calculations necessary for filling such cards and checking of entries in it.
- Keeping of simple household accounts.
- Preparation of simple farm plans.
- Simple calculations involving unitary-method.
- Use of calendars and farmers' almanacs.
- Recognition of geometrical figures - square, rectangle, triangle and circle.
- Post office dealings.

Phase - II

Reading

- Loud reading with comprehension, fluency at a speed of the second the third readers or easy supplementary reading materials and periodicals specially prepared for new literates on the subjects related to agriculture in H.Y.V. crops.
- Silent reading of the easy reading material on agriculture specially related to H.Y.V. crops.

- Reading of simple newspapers, farm bulletins, pamphlets, booklets and circulars issued for the use of farmers.
- Self-initiated reading of the matter written in simple languages especially the matter pertaining to agriculture.
- Comprehension of implied and derived meaning with a view to developing the reading habit and development of critical thinking in reading.
- Vocabulary Development - ability to read and comprehend about 1,500 most commonly used words including those learnt in the first stage and also 250 commonly used technical words relating to farming.

Writing

- Transcription of a simple passage of about 55 sentences from a book or a passage written clearly on the black board.
- Writing to dictation of simple sentences or messages on a topic.
- Writing of instructions relating to agricultural practices heard on the radio.
- Writing of words having conjunct consonants.
- Simple composition on topics of interest to the farmer.
- Writing of letters, applications, invitations.
- Filling in the different forms, keeping accounts, keeping diaries and preparation of farm plans.
- Giving written answers to questions in short and simple sentences.

Arithmetic

- Reading and writing up to 100,000 (one lakh).
- Multiplication tables up to 20.
- Understanding and writing of thousands, ten thousands and lakhs.
- Additions and subtractions.
- Simple multiplication and division.
- Use of signs (x) and (+).
- Unitary method - proportions and percentages.
- Compound addition and subtraction involving money, weights, measures, length, areas and volumes.
- Simple compound multiplication and division as simple multiples and divisions.

Practical Work

- Postal savings.
- Idea of percentage through simple interest and banking operations - credits, loans, saving, etc.
- Keeping general accounts and farm accounts - debit/credit and balance - farm accounts involving expenditure, income and profit or loss.
- Areas of rectangles and squares.
- Practical problems involving simple compound multiplication and division.

- Simple problems related to time, work and speed.
- Simple problems involving profit and loss.

Norms of Literacy (Under NAEP)

i) Ability to read a book with a speed of 50 words per minute with correct emphasis.

ii) Copying at the speed of 10 words per minute.

iii) Taking dictation at a speed of 7 words per minute.

iv) Ability to write functional applications, fill up forms and write letters.

v) Ability to read and write numbers up to 1000.

vi) Ability to perform easy addition, subtraction, multiplications and division up to three digits.

vii) Functional knowledge and ability to write metric units weight, measure, volume and time.